

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

REVERSION OF OKINAWA TO  
JAPANESE CONTROL

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Northern Virginia Daily, of Strasburg, Va., published, on December 4, a thoughtful editorial on the subject of the recent talks between President Nixon and Japanese Prime Minister Sato relative to reversion of Okinawa to Japanese control. The editor of the Northern Virginia Daily is James J. Crawford.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "The Okinawa Talks," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## THE OKINAWA TALKS

There appears to be wide-spread misunderstanding regarding the outcome of President Nixon's consultations with Japanese Prime Minister Sato on the future return of Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty.

We raise the question now because many Americans, including some of our readers, are under the impression that the communique issued by the President and the Prime Minister, at the conclusion of their talks on November 21st, categorically agreed to the return of the island to Japan by 1972. This was not the case.

Prime Minister Sato, who is under tremendous political pressure at home for return of the territory, did not get, nor did he expect to get, an unrestricted promise of compliance by the U.S.

What the President and the Prime Minister agreed to was, first, that the two governments would immediately enter into consultations regarding specific arrangements for the return of the territory to Japanese control. Secondly, it was agreed that the consultations would be "subject to the conclusion of these specific arrangements with the necessary legislative support."

Thus, the only commitment so far made is the agreement to work together in exploring possible avenues for the future return.

Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr., reminds us that on November 5th the Senate served notice that any changes in treaties previously ratified by the Senate must be submitted to the Senate for approval. President Nixon, and by indirection Prime Minister Sato, acknowledged this principle by specifying in their joint communique that any specific arrangements made by them in the future regarding the sovereignty of Okinawa would be subject to legislative support action. In view of the Senate's November 5th resolution, this can only mean subject to approval of the Senate.

Though the principle of consulting the Senate on matters of this kind has not always been followed by previous administrations, it is the proper procedure. In fact, under the Constitution, the President can make treaties only with the advice and consent of the Senate, and only after two-thirds of the senators present concur. By the same token, treaties which run in perpetuity can be abrogated or changed only with the consent of the Senate.

The fact that President Nixon openly and clearly recognizes the Senate's role is reassuring. Along with Sen. Byrd, we also feel that if the U.S. is to continue its widespread

military commitments in the Far East we must retain unrestricted use of Okinawa as a base.

As a result of the Nixon-Sato talks we have surrendered nothing, nor have we agreed to anything except to consult and explore the possibilities of return of the islands to Japan sometime in the future.

CHARLES H. FLYNN, EDITOR  
AND FRIEND

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 8, 1969

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker—

Whenever there was a good cause to support, a good man to encourage, a good fight to win, Mr. Flynn took part.

This was in part the editorial tribute paid by the Ansonia, Conn., Evening Sentinel to its eminent editor, the late Charles H. Flynn, who died on Thanksgiving Eve, Wednesday, November 26, 1969.

I valued Charlie Flynn as a warm, personal friend and I admired him as well as a newspaper man of talent, integrity, and outstanding ability.

Connecticut has lost a powerful newspaper voice with the death of Charles H. Flynn and I heartily concur in the Ansonia Sentinel's comment that "all of us whose lives he affected for the better know that his like will not be seen again."

As a further tribute to Charles H. Flynn, I include here the text of an editorial, an obituary story, and commentaries on his passing which appeared in the Ansonia Sentinel on November 29, 1969:

[From the Ansonia (Conn.) Sentinel,  
Nov. 26, 1969]

CHARLES H. FLYNN

Charles H. Flynn, whose death we mourn today, devoted his life to the Valley. As a family man, devout communicant of his church, leader in civic causes and editor of The Evening Sentinel he played a prominent and beneficial role in our community for a long generation.

Whenever there was a good cause to support, a good man to encourage, a good fight to win, Mr. Flynn took part, either personally or through the editorial columns of The Sentinel.

His reputation and influence extended far beyond the Valley, however. In point of service he was the state's senior editor, widely recognized by his colleagues as being at the head of his profession.

He took a leading part in Connecticut journalistic activities, always working to improve newspaper standards and fighting encroachments on the free flow of the news. But it was for his personal qualities that he was most widely loved and respected. Firm but fair, occasionally quick to anger but always quicker to regain his equanimity, bright, charming and humorous in personal conversation or on the public platform, Mr. Flynn made an unforgettable impact on all who were fortunate enough to know him.

All of us whose lives he affected for the

better know that his life will not be seen again.

C. H. FLYNN, 62, DIES; EDITOR OF  
THE SENTINEL

Charles H. Flynn, editor of The Evening Sentinel and for a generation an influential voice in the Valley and the state, died this morning in Griffin Hospital. He was 62-years-old.

Mr. Flynn devoted his life to the newspaper profession in general and to The Evening Sentinel in particular. He started at The Sentinel in 1927 as a cub reporter and rose to the paper's top news and editorial posts.

For many years his lucid, erudite editorials clarified public issues, pricked the public conscience and prodded public officials into action. Some influenced the governor and the legislature.

But his influence was exerted personally as well as through The Sentinel.

He took a prominent part in a multitude of activities benefiting his community and his church: the Valley United Fund, Catholic Family Services, the Red Cross, an orphanage, a library, a children's camp and civic and fraternal organizations.

A devoted Catholic, he was a communicant of the Church of the Assumption, Ansonia, and a member of the Assumption Parish Council.

Some years ago he summed up his philosophy of life in two sentences:

"What can anyone do but his best? With trust in God, life turns out much better than can be hoped for."

Mr. Flynn's personality made a powerful impact on those who knew him. He was usually bright, cheerful and loquacious, a quip frequently on his lips.

Occasionally, however, his features would cloud, his long shock of gray-white hair would toss above his massive head and his voice would thunder out imprecations against some malefactor or some injustice. But if he was quick to anger, he was just as quick to forgive and forget.

His Irish wit and commanding presence made him much in demand as a speaker and toastmaster through the Valley.

Charles H. Flynn was born on New Year's Day, 1907, in Derby, son of the late Charles H. Flynn and Kate Killoy Flynn.

He was a graduate of Derby High School, Class of 1924, of which he was president. He earned his bachelor of arts degree at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass., graduating in 1929 cum laude.

It was more than 42 years ago—in 1927—that he first joined The Sentinel, temporarily suspending his studies at Holy Cross to earn money for his education. He worked as a reporter for a year before returning to college, rejoining the paper after graduation.

At The Sentinel he became friendly with a fellow reporter, Miss Eileen V. Hennessy of Ansonia. They were married in 1938 in Ansonia's Church of the Assumption. They had three children. Mrs. Flynn died in 1956.

Mr. Flynn was promoted to managing editor in 1944. He took charge of all news and editorial operations of the paper.

"A local paper has a duty to keep the community informed," he said years later. And keeping the community informed is what Flynn devoted the rest of his life to doing.

He rejected all requests to keep names of arrested persons out of the paper.

"What is fair for one is fair for all," he would say.

As managing editor of The Sentinel, Mr. Flynn gradually won a state-wide reputation among newspapermen. They named him to serve on the Connecticut Associated Press continuing Study Committee—the body that

keeps a continuous check on the quality of wire service news. He was elected secretary of the committee.

Three years ago, Mr. Flynn was elected treasurer of the Connecticut AP Circuit. Two years later, he was named vice president and then president. Last May he was re-elected president, which office he held at his death.

Mr. Flynn was also a member of the new England Society of Newspaper Editors and of Sigma Delta Chi, the national journalism fraternity.

A life-long interest was freedom of information—the unfettered flow of news from public officials through the press to the people.

"The public does not realize why reporters should have access to public information," he said. "We are not asking for a commodity to sell (the papers sell anyway). We are fighting the battle of the people. The people have the right to know."

At the time of his death, Mr. Flynn was Connecticut's senior editor in point of service.

Mr. Flynn was the first president of the old Diocesan Bureau of Social Services. He was re-elected annually ever since, the last time in May 1969. The organization became the Catholic Family Services in 1967.

He served as president and chairman of the budget committee of the old Ansonia Community Chest. When the Valley United Fund was formed, in 1968, he became its first vice-president, a position he held until his death.

Mr. Flynn also served on the board of directors of the Highland Heights Orphanage, New Haven; on the Board of Directors of the Lower Naugatuck Valley Chapter, American Red Cross; as a director of the Ansonia Public Library, and as president of the Ansonia Board of Assessors.

He was also a member of Father McKeon Division, Ancient Order of Hibernians; past district deputy of the Councils of the Knights of Columbus of the Valley, and past grand knight of Paugasset Council, Knights of Columbus, of Derby.

Mr. Flynn lived at 141 Howard Avenue, Ansonia.

Mr. Flynn is survived by two sons, Joseph P. Flynn, an Ansonia lawyer, and Spec. 4 Michael A. Flynn, U.S. Army, stationed in Germany; a daughter, Miss Eileen M. Flynn of Ansonia; a sister, Mrs. Thomas F. Keane of Stamford, and a brother, Frank Flynn of Tallahassee, Fla.

Services will be held at 10:15 a. m. Friday at the William E. Stapleton Funeral Home, 72 Howard Ave., Ansonia, with a solemn high Mass of requiem at 11 a. m. at the Church of the Assumption. Burial will be in Mount St. Peter's Cemetery, Derby.

Calling hours are 7 to 9 p. m. today and tomorrow at the funeral home.

Members of the Valley Council, K. of C., Ansonia, will meet at 7:30 p. m. tomorrow at the funeral home to pay their respects.

Paugasset Council, K. of C., Derby, will pay its respects at the same time and place.

Members of Local 285, International Typographical Union, will meet at 6:45 p. m. tomorrow at the funeral home to pay their respects.

The Ansonia Library will be closed from 10:30 to noon Friday in respect for Mr. Flynn, a member of the library board of directors.

#### TRIBUTES TO CHARLES H. FLYNN

Tributes to Charles H. Flynn, editor of The Evening Sentinel, who died this morning at Griffin Hospital, poured into Ansonia today from the Valley, state and nation. Here are some of them:

L. P. YALE, STATE AP CHIEF

If I may use an old, but in this case true, cliché, Charlie Flynn was a newspaperman's newspaperman.

His long experience and vast knowledge of the news business made him a valuable adviser in handling problems of the industry.

His activities in the Associated Press Connecticut Circuit, capped by his service as president—a post he held at the time of his death—were always enthusiastic, knowledgeable and solid.

THOMAS J. DODD, U.S. SENATOR

The death of Charles Flynn, editor of The Evening Sentinel is a great loss to his family, community and indeed to the whole State of Connecticut.

He was a man of great intellectual integrity. Charlie Flynn was a journalist from the old school, a good school, the school of fact and not of fiction.

I have known him for a great many years, and have often sought his advice because he was a sensible, thoughtful and reflective man. He had no poison pens among his quills.

JOHN S. MONAGAN, U.S. CONGRESSMAN

Charles Flynn was a tower of strength in the advocacy of the principles by which he lived. He spoke clearly and with conviction in defense of the rights of the individual, and in support of things of local and national interest.

His editorials have influenced decisions at the local, state, and national levels on matters of significance to the Naugatuck Valley and the State of Connecticut.

WARREN F. GARDNER, MERIDEN RECORD

There wasn't a better newspaper editor in all of Connecticut, nor a more unassuming one. Charles Flynn had personal integrity and professional competency. He had a rare way with words.

Those of us who had a professional association with Charlie over the years feel his loss deeply. I am reminded of the words that the Guilford poet, Fitz-Greene Halleck, wrote of a friend: "None knew him but to love him nor mentioned his name but in praise."

STEPHEN A. COLLINS, DANBURY NEWS-TIMES

Charles H. Flynn held the esteem of his fellow editors for his high standards.

Their admiration was for his craftsmanship with words and their respect for his wide knowledge of his area and the manner in which he sought to serve the best interests of the readers of The Evening Sentinel.

Most of all he was a friendly man in the finest sense of that word. Even his frequent quips could not hide his deep affection for mankind.

JOSEPH B. BUCKLEY, STATE SENATOR

He did more than just put out a newspaper. He made news through his extensive investigations and questioning. Through his editorials and prodding of local officials and congressmen, he helped the \$15.3 million flood-control project in Ansonia and Derby become a success. The project would not be there today without his efforts.

JOSEPH A. DOYLE, EX-ANSONIA MAYOR

Charles Flynn followed the flood-control program for 12 years on his own, often writing letters on his own in addition to his newspaper writings.

We are all saddened by his death. He dearly loved Ansonia and the Valley and through his pen, he inspired citizens in times of distress and stimulated all of us to achieve greater heights for our community.

GUY MARCUCIO, GRAND KNIGHT

Paugasset Council, Knights of Columbus, of Derby has learned with deep sorrow of the death of Past Grand Knight Charles Flynn. Although he had many commitments, his deep interest in the Council never abated.

REV. JOSEPH PETTIT, CFS DIRECTOR

As president of the Catholic Family Service Advisory Board he gave leadership and direction to the agency.

Without his help through many years, this agency could not have risen to the stature it now enjoys. For this untiring effort we in the community will always be grateful.

Charlie Flynn was a person of strong faith and manly love for God and his fellow human beings. Those who knew him will never forget him in death.

JOSEPH A. SMITH, VALLEY UNITED FUND

One of Charles Flynn's proudest accomplishments was to have worked successfully with others for the development of the Valley United Fund. This he did from the first days as president of the Ansonia Community Chest in 1965, a position he held until 1967 when he became first vice-president of the new United Fund.

In that office, one for which he was again nominated this year, he gave of his time and energy most unstintingly.

He was active at almost every executive and board meeting of the Valley United Fund. He discussed, and aided in the new approach to the new directions with which our emerging organization has been constantly confronted.

THOMAS J. NELLIGAN, EX-ANSONIA MAYOR

He was a tremendous help to me when I was mayor. His advice was always worthwhile and I will miss him very much. He was a wonderful man and will be missed by the whole city.

FRANK FITZGERALD SR., EX-ANSONIA MAYOR

Charlie was one of our foremost citizens with a deep interest in the affairs of the city. He was always willing to cooperate in anything in the interest of the welfare of the public.

PAUL SCHUMACHER SR., TOWN, CITY CLERK

There are many scrapbooks in the city that bear his wonderful editorials and his nostalgic recordings of events in the Valley. He fought like the devil for anything he thought was right for the Valley.

LEO T. MOLLOY, EX-DERBY EDITOR

Mr. Flynn was an excellent writer and a fine reporter. He had a profound knowledge of world and domestic affairs and was always keenly aware of happenings in the Valley.

His knowledge was reflected in his editorials. His passing will be deeply felt by his associates in the newspaper world and his many friends and acquaintances in the Valley.

HERBERT A. STOCKING, FORMER CITY EDITOR

The Connecticut newspaper profession has lost one of its ablest, honest and fearless members, one with keen editorial insight.

#### PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

#### HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks the transcript of the President's news conference yesterday on foreign and domestic affairs.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 9, 1969]

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Following is a transcript of President Nixon's news conference last night, as recorded by The New York Times:

Nixon. Won't you be seated, Mr. Smith. Q. Mr. President, do you see any signs of the Vietnam war cooling off?

A. Well, looking over the long period—yes.



As far as recent weeks are concerned, since my speech of Nov. 3, no significant change. When we compare the situation with regard to infiltration and casualties this year with last year, there is a great difference. And looking to the future, if that situation continues I believe that we can see that the Vietnam war will come to a conclusion—regardless of what happens at the bargaining table. And it will come to a conclusion as a result of the plan that we have instituted, on which we are embarked, for replacing American troops with Vietnamese forces.

#### MYLAI MASSACRE

Q. In your opinion, was what happened at Mylai a massacre, an alleged massacre, or what was it, and what do you think can be done to prevent things like this? And if it was a massacre, do you think it was justifiable on military or other grounds?

A. Well, trying to answer all of those questions, in sorting it out, I would start first with this statement: What appears was certainly a massacre, and under no circumstances was it justified. One of the goals we are fighting for in Vietnam is to keep the people from South Vietnam from having imposed upon them a government which has atrocity against civilians as one of its policies, and we cannot ever condone or use atrocities against civilians in order to accomplish that goal.

Now when you used the word "alleged," that is only proper in terms of the individuals involved. Under our system a man is not guilty until proved to be so. And there are several individuals involved here who will be tried by military courts, and consequently we should say "alleged" as far as they are concerned until they are proved guilty.

As far as this kind of activity is concerned, I believe it is an isolated incident. Certainly within this Administration we are doing everything possible to find out whether it was isolated, and so far our investigation indicates that it was. And as far as the future is concerned, I would only add this one point: Looking at the other side of the coin, we have a million, two hundred thousand Americans who have been in Vietnam. Forty thousand of them have given their lives.

Virtually all of them have helped the people of Vietnam in one way or another. They built roads and schools; they built churches and pagodas. The Marines alone this year have built over 250,000 churches, pagodas and temples for the people of Vietnam. And our soldiers in Vietnam and sailors and airmen this year alone contributed three-quarters of a million dollars to help the people of South Vietnam.

Now this record of generosity, of decency, must not be allowed to be smeared and slurred because of this kind of an incident. That's why I'm going to do everything I possibly can to see that all the facts in this incident are brought to light, and that those who are charged, if they are found guilty, are punished, because if it is isolated it is against our policy and we shall see to it that what these men did—if they did it—does not smear the decent men that have gone to Vietnam in a very, in my opinion, important cause.

#### AGNEW AND MEDIA

Q. Mr. President, Vice President Agnew in recent weeks has made two speeches in which he has criticized the news media—broadcasting in particular.

A. Yes, I know.

Q. What, if anything, in those speeches is there with which you disagree?

A. Before this audience? The Vice President does not clear his speeches with me, just as I did not clear my speeches with President Eisenhower. However, I believe that the Vice President rendered a public service in talking in a very dignified and courageous way about a problem that many Americans are concerned about, and that is the cover-

age by news media—and particularly television news media—of public figures.

Now let me be quite precise. He did not advocate censorship. On the contrary, he advocated that there should be free expression. He did not oppose bias. On the contrary, he recognized—as I do—that there should be opinion.

Let me say on that score that I don't want a bunch of intellectual eunuchs either writing the news or talking about the news. I like excitement in the news, whether it's on television or whether it's in the columns.

He did say, and perhaps this point should be well taken, that television stations might well follow the practice of newspapers of separating news from opinion. When opinion is expressed, label it so, but don't mix the opinion in with the reporting of the news.

It seems to me these were useful suggestions. Perhaps the networks disagreed with the criticisms, but I would suggest that they should be just as dignified and just as reasonable in answering the criticisms as he was in making them.

#### TAX REFORM BILL

Q. Sir, if the final version of the tax reform bill now pending in Congress includes the Senate-adopted \$800 exemption provision and the 15 per cent Social Security increase, can you sign it?

A. No.

Q. May I go back to Mr. Parnell's question, asked in the light of the Mylai incident. Would you prefer a civilian commission, something other than a military inquiry in this case?

A. Mr. Thyss, I do not believe that a civilian commission, at this time, would be useful. I believe that the matter now is in the judicial process and that a civilian commission might be, and very properly could be used, by the defendants' attorneys as having prejudiced their rights.

Now if it should happen that the judicial process, as set up by the military under the new law passed by Congress, does not prove to be adequate in bringing this incident completely before the public, as it should be brought before the public, then I would consider a commission. But not at this time.

Q. Mr. President, Secretary of Defense Laird is reported to have said that you would be expected to announce a further troop cut-back from Vietnam later this month, probably 40,000 men. Also today, Senator George Aiken is reported as having said that you have already withdrawn, or ordered withdrawn, another 9,000 that was not announced. Could you give us your thinking and the prospects and the substance of both of those reports?

A. As I indicated in my speech on television on Nov. 3, the reports from Vietnam with regard to infiltration and with regard to casualties and with regard to the training of the South Vietnamese indicate more progress on all fronts than we had anticipated when we started our troop schedule withdrawal in June.

There will be a troop cut with a replacement by South Vietnamese later this month. I would say within the next two to three weeks. As far as the number is concerned, the number is still under consideration. It will depend upon the events and our analysis of the events between now and the time I make the announcement.

#### PENTAGON PERSONNEL

Q. Mr. President, there are two flagrant instances of intimidation and harassment and threats against Pentagon personnel who may have divulged information to Congress and to the public about cost overruns, and mismanagement and irregular industrial alliances. These two instances are related because some of the same people are involved.

I refer, one, to a disgusting, Gestapo-like interrogation of Pentagon personnel to see who leaked information to Sarah McClendon

for news stories. This involves Barry J. Shilako and Edward Sheridan. I also refer to the firing of A. Ernest Fitzgerald, whose divulgement of cost overruns saved the American people \$2-billion. His greatest critics were Dr. Robert Luke and Barry J. Shilako. Can you do something about this, please, sir?

A. I better after the way you put that question.

#### CONFERENCE ON FOOD

Q. Mr. President, last week the White House Conference on Food and Nutrition strongly recommended approval of a bill which has passed the Senate to reform the food stamp program, but it's locked in the House, and another bill which would reform the school lunch program, which has passed the House but is blocked in the Senate. Your Administration is reported to be lobbying against both bills. Will you follow the recommendations of your White House conference, and what course of action will you take?

A. I favor the approach that our Administration has put before the Congress as being the more responsible approach on both scores. I will, of course, consider the recommendations of the White House conference, which will be made to me, at my request, within approximately 30 days.

There is another recommendation by the White House conference which I unfortunately cannot give really sympathetic consideration to, and that is the one recommending a \$5,400 minimum for a family of four in America. That would cost approximately \$70- to \$80-billion in taxes, or \$70- to \$80-billion in increased prices. I do not say that to discredit the conference.

I simply say that all of us in this country want to end hunger in the United States. All of us want the poor to have a minimum floor, and that minimum be as high as possible. All of us, for example, want Social Security to be higher. But when I consider all of these matters, I have to think also of this fact: the fact that I as President am the one who has the primary responsibility for the cost of living in this country. Referring a moment ago to the tax question, it would be very easy for me to sign a bill which reduces taxes. But if I sign the kind of a bill which the Senate is about to pass, I would be reducing taxes for some of the American people and raising the prices for all the American people. I will not do that.

#### FAIRNESS OF REPORTING

Q. How fair do you think the news media has been in reporting on you, and on Vice President Agnew, and on your Administration in general?

A. Generally, I think the news media's been fair. I have no complaints about the—certainly the extent of the coverage that I have received. And I also will have no complaints just so long as the news media allows—as it does tonight—an opportunity for me to be heard directly by the people, and then the television commentators to follow me. I'll take my chances.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that the wife of the Attorney General, like the Vice President, has rendered a public service by her statements on the protest movement and on her political activities?

A. Well now, I decided when this Administration came to Washington that I would take the responsibility for answering for my own personal family and for my Cabinet family, but that each Cabinet member would answer for his family, and so I'll leave that question to the Attorney General.

#### SUPPORT OF POLICIES

Q. To broaden that a little bit, on Nov. the 3d you called for support for your policies in Vietnam. You since received a response that some of your aides feel is gratifying. My question is, however, have you not, with the help of Vice President Agnew—and I'm re-

ferring to some of his recent speeches—purchased this support at the cost of alienating a sizable segment of the American public and risking polarization of the country?

A. Mr. Semple, one of the problems of leadership is to take a position. I like to be liked. I don't like to say things that everybody doesn't agree with. When peace marchers come to Washington, it would be very easy to say that I agree with them, I will do what they want.

But a President has to do what he considers to be right—right for the people; right, for example, in pursuing a just peace, not just peace for our time, for a little time.

I believe that I pursue that path. I do not believe that that is a disservice to the public interest, because I believe that sometimes it is necessary to draw the line clearly—not to have enmity against those who disagree, but to make it clear that there can be no compromise where such great issues as self-determination and freedom and a just peace are involved.

#### SPECIAL SESSION

Q. Could you assess for us how you see now the prospects of a special session of Congress during the Christmas holidays?

A. Well I've had some conversations with some of the members of the House and Senate since I indicated to the Republican leaders that I might call that session. And I would say the jury is still out. The House is moving much more speedily, the Senate has begun more speedily. If the present progress continues at this rate, it may be that we can all have some vacation after Christmas. But, if they do not pass the appropriations bills, as I indicated, I will have to call a special session, much as I would not want to do so.

#### SALT POSTPONEMENT

Q. The United States today asked for a postponement in the SALT talks, the strategic arms talks. Can you tell us why, and assess the talks for us, please?

A. Well, the postponement does not have any long-range significance. It's only for the purpose of developing the positions in a proper way. As far as the progress is concerned, I would say it is encouraging. I say that somewhat cautiously because I would not want to leave out the hope that we would have an agreement within a matter of weeks, or even months.

But it is encouraging because both sides are presenting positions in a very serious way, and are not trying to make propaganda out of their positions. Both sides, I believe therefore want a limitation on strategic arms. As long as this is the case, there is a chance for an agreement.

Now it's going to take some time because what is involved here, as distinguished from the test ban and as distinguished from the nonproliferation treaty—both of which were important but which were basically peripheral issues—here you have the basic security of the United States of America and the Soviet Union involved. Therefore both must bargain hard.

But I believe that the progress to date has been good. The prospects are better than I anticipated they would be when the talks began.

#### ADDITION OF TROOPS

Q. Mr. President, as the Vietnamization process moves along, are there any circumstances, such as perhaps a series of defeats by the South Vietnamese Army, that might lead you to want to reverse the process of troop withdrawals and increase our troops in Vietnam?

A. I do not anticipate that at this time. I want to make it of course clear that we do not anticipate that there will not be troubles. The enemy still has the capability of launching some offensive actions, not certainly the capability that it had a year ago.

It's much less because their infiltration has been less.

But the present prognosis that I think I can make is this—that we can go forward with our troop withdrawal program and that any action that the enemy takes, either against us or the South Vietnamese, can be contained without that program.

#### ALLIES AND TROOPS

Q. Mr. President, is there any truth in the reports that have been rather persistent for the last couple weeks that we paid Thailand something like a billion dollars for their cooperation in Vietnam? And, in that connection, where do our allies, like Thailand, South Korea and their troops, fit into our withdrawal program?

A. Well, first, with regard to the second part of the question: Both Thailand and South Korea have no intention—at least none that has been indicated to us—of withdrawing forces at the time that we are withdrawing ours, because we have a much greater commitment there than they have.

Second, with regard to the billion dollars that allegedly has been paid to Thailand, the amount is, of course, far less than that. But, quite candidly, yes, the United States is subsidizing the Thai troops. We also are subsidizing the South Korean troops. We're doing exactly what we did in Western Europe immediately after World War II when we subsidized virtually all of Western Europe, due to the fact that they could not maintain forces themselves for their own defense. These are newly developing countries; they are unable to maintain their forces for their own defense, and, therefore, we think that subsidy is correct. And I could only say this: It seems to me it makes a great deal of sense. The Thais are in Vietnam as volunteers, and if they are willing to go there as volunteers I would much rather pay out some money to have them there than to have American men fighting there in their place.

Q. Since Ambassador Lodge resigned, you've not named a successor as chief negotiator. Is this in effect downgrading the Paris talks because they have been nonproductive?

A. No. Mr. Habib is a very competent career diplomat, and he will be able to discuss anything that is brought up seriously by the other side. We're simply waiting for a serious proposal.

#### NEGOTIATED PEACE

Q. Considering how things have gone in Paris, how do you now rate the chances of a negotiated settlement of the war?

A. Not good. Quite candidly, I would like to say that they were good; but looking at the present situation, the enemy's line continues to be hard; their proposals quite frivolous as the ones by the VC today. And I do not anticipate any progress on the negotiating front at this time. But I have put in this one condition: As our program for Vietnamization continues to work, and as it becomes apparent, as I believe it increasingly will, that it will succeed. I think the pressures for the enemy then to negotiate a settlement will greatly increase, because once we are out and the South Vietnamese are there, they will have a much harder individual to negotiate with than they had when we were there.

#### INTEGRATION POLICY

Q. Before the Supreme Court ordered immediate school integration you said you preferred a middle road policy, that is, between segregation forever and instant integration. What's your policy now?

A. To carry out what the Supreme Court has laid down. I believe in carrying out the law even though I may have disagreed as I did in this instance with the degree that the Supreme Court eventually came down with. But we'll carry out the law. Yes, sir?

#### TAX PROBLEM

Q. The question on your broad philosophy on the tax problem that we're all struggling with. You often pointed out that this is a very rich country, and there are some people who argue that the American people can tax themselves whenever they want to and when they are prepared to make the sacrifice in order to provide the very substantial sums that are necessary for the big problems at home, the cities getting their housing program rolling and so forth, and that we might very well do it now and get on with the job because the end of the Vietnam war apparently is not going to release very substantial amounts of fresh funds. Could you comment on this hairshirted approach to the tax problem?

A. Well, it is, it is of course a very complicated but a very fundamental question. I would put it very briefly and answer in this way.

Approximately 35 to 37 per cent of the total income of the United States goes to taxes—that is, Federal, State and local taxes. I believe that amount is high enough. I believe that when a nation takes a substantially larger portion of the national income than that for taxes, that then the nation loses its character as a free private enterprise economy and turns over and becomes primarily a state-controlled and oriented economy.

Therefore, while I believe that the United States can afford what it needs to do in many fields—including the environment and others that I will be touching upon the State of the Union—I do not want to see a substantial increase in the tax burden, or as a percentage of our gross national income.

#### RECORD OF CONGRESS

Q. Mr. President, getting back to the Congress for a moment, House Democratic Leader Carl Albert today said that an Administration spokesman had issued misleading statements about the Congress in an effort to undermine public confidence in it, and he went on to say, and I quote him as saying, the Administration—it's the fault of the Administration for delays, obfuscations, confusion and lack of leadership on the part of the Administration. Would you care to comment?

A. Well, that sounds like a pretty good political statement by Mr. Albert, and I can understand why he, as the majority leader, might find it necessary to make that statement. However, I think he knows, as all of you know, that for six months we've had a major crime control package before the Congress with no action, for months, we've had other programs in a number of fields there without action.

This Congress has the worst record in terms of appropriations bills of any Congress in history. Now, let me say, I'm a defender of the Congress, and having said all this I'm also a defender of Carl Albert—I like him, I want to continue to work with him, I don't want to answer that question any further at this point.

#### NUMBER OF NEWS PARLEYS

Q. Mr. President, two related questions, sir: Why have you only had three full-dress news conferences in six months, and what is your reaction to the general philosophy among some of us in the press that the press is not doing its job if it doesn't hold an Administration—any Administration—to account without, shall we say, coziness?

A. Well, I don't think I've had any problem with regard to the press holding me to account in my political lifetime. I think if I could paraphrase Winston Churchill—a statement he made in 1914—I've always derived a great deal of benefit from criticism, and I've never known when I was short of it.

Now, as far as the press conferences are concerned, I try to have press conferences when I think there is a public interest—not just a press interest or my interest—but the public interest in having them. And



December 9, 1969

also, to use various devices; as you know, I've had conferences in my office, I had a conference in Guam, I've also made three major television addresses in prime time.

If I consider that the press and the public need more information than I'm giving through press conferences I'll have more. I welcome the opportunity to have them. I'm not afraid of them, just as the press is not afraid of me.

Q. Will our Vietnam involvement be reduced in your Administration to the point where it will command a little more public opinion than say, earlier than now?

A. Well that is certainly our goal. And I think we are well on the way to achievement of that goal. We have a plan for the reduction of American forces in Vietnam, for removing all combat forces from Vietnam, regardless of what happens in negotiations. That plan is going forward, and as I will report to the nation when I announce the troop withdrawal three weeks from now, I believe that developments since my Nov. 3 speech have been on schedule.

#### LIMIT ON INFORMATION

Q. Mr. President, what limits do you put on what the United — the people of the United States ought to know about the war that's going on in Laos and the American involvement in it?

A. The public interest, as far as I'm concerned, the people of the United States are entitled to know everything that they possibly can with regard to any involvement of the United States abroad. As you know, in answer to a question I think Mr. Potter asked at the last news conference, I pointed out what were the facts. There are no American combat troops in Laos. Our involvement in Laos is solely due to the request of Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist Prime Minister, who was set up there in Laos as a result of the Laos negotiation and accords that were arranged by Governor Harriman during the Kennedy Administration. We are attempting to uphold those accords, and we're doing that despite the fact that North Vietnam has 50,000 troops in Laos. We are also, as I have publicly indicated and as you know, we are interdicting the Ho Chi Minh Trail as it runs through Laos. Beyond that, I do not think the public interest would be served by any further discussions.

#### POSSIBILITY OF DEFICIT

Q. Budget director Mayo said recently that uncontrolled Federal spending is likely to push the fiscal '71 budget beyond the \$200-billion mark and that the eventual elimination of the surtax could produce a deficit that year. I have two questions. Do you foresee the possibility of a deficit in '71? And, if that is the prospect, would you recommend continuing the surtax beyond June 30?

A. The answer to the first question—the second question is that I do not intend to recommend the continuation of the surtax beyond June 30. And with regard to the first part of the question, only by use of the Presidential veto and by impounding funds are we going to be able to avoid the kind of a situation that Director Mayo has described.

But I can assure you that I intend to use all the powers of the Presidency to stop the rise in the cost of living including the veto.

#### INFILTRATION INCREASES

Q. Mr. President, the enemy's infiltration has been up recently in Vietnam. Could you give us your assessment of this, specifically whether you think he is replacing losses, or building up for an offensive, and what significance could this fact have in terms of your own plans for troop reductions?

A. It has great significance because, as I have pointed out, enemy infiltration, the fact that it was down, is one of the reasons we've been able to go forward with our own troop-withdrawal programs. However, I have been analyzing these reports week by week.

The figures that we got two weeks ago seem to have been inflated. The inflation rate is not as great as we thought then. It is higher than it was a few months ago. It is still lower than it was a year ago.

We do not consider the infiltration significant enough to change our troop-withdrawal plans. Now something may occur in the next two or three weeks that may give me a different view on that, but at this time that would be my observation.

#### ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM

Q. A move is under way in the House, and it's supported by the Republican leadership, to change the structure of the antipoverty program to give the Governors a veto over programs in their states. What is your position on that?

A. I support the director of O.E.O. He has asked for a two-year extension. He has pledged to reform the O.E.O., and I think he should be given the chance to reform it. I hope he's able to work out with the leadership in the House, most of whom are Republicans in this instance who want the changes and some Democrats will be able to work out some kind of accommodation with them. But of course I support my director that I've appointed.

#### REACHING THE YOUNG

Q. Mr. President, getting back to the polarization question. Your Administration has been charged with the failure to reach the young people—both those who protest and march and those who don't. Have you any specific plans for reaching the young people of this country?

A. I think you reach the young people more by talking to them as adults than talking to them as young people. I like to treat them as adults. I like to talk to them. I was rather encouraged by the number of letters and calls I received with regard to my Vietnam speech from young people. They didn't all agree, but at least they had listened, they had paid attention. I know a way not to reach them and that's to try to pick No. 1 as far as football teams are concerned.

#### MYLAI—PROPAGANDA IS FAR FROM PROOF

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 8, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, those of our colleagues who are attorneys and who have been following the media trials of the alleged Mylai atrocity will, no doubt, be astounded by the actual charges and specifications on which Lieutenant Calley and Sergeant Mitchell are to stand trial.

I have received a copy of the charges from the Department of the Army on Lieutenant Calley and related material on Sergeant Mitchell which I include in my remarks for the benefit of members of the bar, with the suggestion that they conduct a mental exercise in an effort to determine how it is possible either to prosecute or defend an individual accused, and facing capital punishment, on such loose charges.

Where in the United States could anyone find a judge who would refuse a motion to quash such an indictment?

Under Anglo-American law it is necessary first to prove that a specific individual actually existed before charging someone with his murder. Even murder mysteries insist on the corpus delicti. From the shape of these charges it does

not appear that the Government is prepared to prove the actual existence of a single one of the alleged victims of the alleged massacre.

Perhaps the missing piece to the puzzle is that at an appropriate time Hanoi will provide a list of names, ages, and so forth, through its "dear American friends."

Mr. Speaker, I include a copy of the above-named documents received from the Department of the Army as a part of my remarks.

The documents follow:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY,  
Washington, D.C., November 24, 1969.

#### Information for Members of Congress:

Major General Orwin C. Talbott, Commanding General of Fort Benning, Georgia announced today that First Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr. will be tried by general court-martial for premeditated murder. This case will be tried as a capital offense. Charges and specifications are attached.

The trial will be held at Fort Benning. Date of trial is not known at this time. The date will be determined by the length of time needed by the defense and prosecution to prepare for trial. It is anticipated that this will require at least a month.

Lieutenant Calley will be represented at the trial by George W. Latimer (Salt Lake City, Utah, former judge of the Court of Military Appeals) and Major Kenneth A. Raby.

The trial will be open to the public. The Military Judge, however, is authorized to close portions of the trial to spectators to prevent the unauthorized disclosure of classified security information.

CHARGE: VIOLATION OF THE UNIFORM CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE, ARTICLE 118

Specification 1: In that First Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr., US Army, 40th Company, The Student Brigade, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia (then a member of Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry) did, at My Lai 4, Quang Ngai Province, Republic of South Vietnam, on or about 16 March 1968, with premeditation, murder four Oriental human beings, occupants of the village of My Lai 4, whose names and sexes are unknown, by means of shooting them with a rifle.

Specification 2: In that First Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr., US Army, 40th Company, The Student Brigade, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia (then a member of Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry) did, at My Lai 4, Quang Ngai Province, Republic of South Vietnam, on or about 16 March 1968, with premeditation, murder an unknown number, not less than 30, Oriental human beings, males and females of various ages, whose names are unknown, occupants of the village of My Lai 4, by means of shooting them with a rifle.

Specification 3: In that First Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr., US Army, 40th Company, The Student Brigade, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia (then a member of Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry) did, at My Lai 4, Quang Ngai Province, Republic of South Vietnam, on or about 16 March 1968, with premeditation, murder three Oriental human beings whose names and sexes are unknown, occupants of the village of My Lai 4, by means of shooting them with a rifle.

Specification 4: In that First Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr., US Army, 40th Company, The Student Brigade, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia (then a member of Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry) did, at My Lai 4, Quang Ngai Province, Republic of South Vietnam on or about 16 March 1968, with premeditation, murder an unknown number of Oriental human beings, not less than seventy, males

and females of various ages, whose names are unknown, occupants of the village of My Lai 4, by means of shooting them with a rifle.

ADDITIONAL CHARGE: VIOLATION OF THE UNIFORM CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE, ARTICLE 118

Specification 1: In that First Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr., US Army, Hqs. Company, The Student Brigade, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia (then a member of Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry) did, at My Lai 4, Quang Ngai Province, Republic of South Vietnam, on or about 16 March 1968, with premeditation, murder one Oriental male human being, an occupant of the village of My Lai 4, whose name and age is unknown, by shooting him with a rifle.

Specification 2: In that First Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr., US Army, Hqs. Company, The Student Brigade, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia (then a member of Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry) did, at My Lai 4, Quang Ngai Province, Republic of South Vietnam, on or about 16 March 1968, with premeditation, murder one Oriental male human being, an occupant of the village of My Lai 4, approximately two years old, whose name and sex is unknown, by shooting him with a rifle.

Staff Sergeant David Mitchell, currently assigned to Company C, 5th Battalion, 6th Infantry, 1st Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas, has been charged with violation of Article 134, Uniform Code of Military Justice, assault with intent to commit murder. Charges involve offenses allegedly committed against Vietnamese civilians while Sergeant Mitchell was serving with the American Division in Vietnam in March 1968.

The case has been referred to investigation under Article 32, UCMJ. The investigation is continuing and the date of completion cannot be anticipated at this time. Whether the matter will be referred to trial by court-martial will be determined upon completion of the investigation. Prior to any decision to convene a court-martial it would be inappropriate for the Army to release details of the charges and specifications. To do so might prejudice the rights of the accused and of the Army.

#### Statement of Service

Name: Staff Sergeant David Mitchell, RA 54 232 256.

Date and place of birth: 16 August 1940, Hardwood, Louisiana.

Home of record: St. Francisville, Louisiana.

#### SUMMARY OF SERVICE

From 1960 to 1962: U.S. Army Reserve not on active duty.

From Nov. 62 to Jun 63: Company A, 1st Battle Group, 12th Infantry, Fort Lewis, Wash.

From Jun 63 to Jul 64: Combat Support Company, 12th Infantry, Fort Lewis, Wash.

From Jul 64 to Aug 65: Company B, 1st Battalion, 8th Cavalry, Korea.

From Aug 65 to Sep 66: 5th Battalion, 1st Training Brigade, Fort Jackson, S.C.

From Sep 66 to Nov 66: Company C, 10th Battalion, 2d Training Brigade, Fort Bragg, N.C.

From Nov 66 to Jul 67: 5th Battalion, 1st Training Brigade, Fort Jackson, S.C.

From Jul 67 to Dec 67: Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry, 11th Infantry Brigade, Hawaii.

From Dec 67 to Nov 68: Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry, 11th Infantry Brigade, American Division, Vietnam.

From Nov 68 to Present: Company C, 5th Battalion, 6th Infantry, 1st Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas.

#### AWARDS AND DECORATIONS

Vietnam Service Medal; Vietnam Campaign Medal (Vietnamese); National Defense Serv-

ice Medal; Combat Infantryman Badge, and Good Conduct Medal—Second Award.

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY REFORM IN IDAHO

## HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on August 25, 1968—prior to the opening of the Democratic National Convention at Chicago—I stated that the "time has come to face the fact that the convention system is obsolete. National conventions, for both parties, are a remnant of 19th-century horse-and-buggy politics."

The 1968 national conventions, of both parties, offered astringent proof of the need for reform. Indeed, this was apparent at the time, as evidenced by the Democratic National Convention's resolution directing State parties to democratize the selection of their convention delegates.

While such reform is an essential beginning, it is not a final answer. Selecting a presidential candidate is much too serious a business to be transacted at a political carnival—where the voice of the people is all too often lost in the clamor and confusion of the convention hall. Too often it is purely a matter of accident if the nominee turns out to be the man the people really want.

Because of my conviction that we must replace the archaic convention system with a presidential primary, national in scope, where party candidates for President and Vice President will be nominated by direct vote of the people, it was with great interest that I recently read a proposal of a longtime friend and fellow Idahoan, Mr. Charles E. Bilyeu of Pocatello, in support of these objectives.

"Chick" Bilyeu is no armchair politician. As Democratic Party chairman for Bannock County and a popular faculty member at Idaho State University in Pocatello, he serves an area noted for "politics by participation," where all are encouraged to take a hand in the political process. For Chick, politics is also a family avocation. Mrs. Bilyeu, in addition to her many other activities, is a State senator in Idaho's Legislature.

I found it significant that the opportunity for Chick Bilyeu's presentation calling for a presidential primary was a public meeting in Idaho Falls sponsored by the Idaho Democratic Party to obtain—directly from the voters—their views on election reform in Idaho.

This effort is being coordinated by a committee established by the Idaho Democratic Party under the able chairmanship of James Donart, a noted attorney from Weiser. The committee has held public meetings throughout the State. Shortly, it will draft recommendations for the Idaho State Legislature, looking toward the necessary changes in our election laws. The Republican Party is being asked to cooperate in a spirit of mutual accommodation.

In my State, it is the Democratic Party which is taking the lead in the long-

neglected area of election reform. Men like Chick Bilyeu and James Donart, among many others, are demonstrating their concern with meaningful action and creative proposals.

Mr. President, I believe that the challenging outline for a presidential primary laid out by Mr. Bilyeu merits the attention of every Senator. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY REFORM IN IDAHO

(By Charles E. "Chick" Bilyeu)

The Democratic Party of the United States has proved once again that it is the oldest political organization in the world not by accident but because it reacts with sensitivity and sensibility to the needs of the people in a world which is continually accelerating its rate of change.

The Democratic National Convention of 1968 in Chicago was brutal in its honesty of exposing to all Americans some of the antiquated political habits our nation has come to accept as doctrine. Although these habits may be comforting to certain segments of our population, they create great discomfort for millions of our younger citizens.

The Democratic Convention of 1968 exposed shortcomings in our political system under the brilliance of spotlights generally reserved for theatrical spectacles, and, as a result, has given many citizens the impetus to cogitate about the American system of handling the all important political aspects of our national life.

First and foremost to be considered in the American political system must be the method used to choose our Chief Executive. No longer is it acceptable to the American voter to be allowed to choose between the single candidates presented by each of the nation's major parties!

The American citizen of today has far more comprehension of the effect of political action on his own individual welfare than any citizen of any period in history. The American of 1969 wants more voice in determining his own future than ever before. So I submit the following as a proposal which, if tempered by thoughtful discussion, might generate political action in our nation that could bring a new dimension to the concept of self determination and which might reaffirm our faith in democracy in the United States.

I propose a national presidential primary in which each major political party would endorse up to five (5) nominees in a national convention. These nominees would be acceptable to their parties traditional standards and historical philosophies. This would permit each party to present to the people of the U.S. nominees of liberal, moderate, and conservative stands. Or to use hindsight the Democratic party could have endorsed in its 1968 convention V. P. Hubert Humphrey, Senator Robert Kennedy, Senator Eugene McCarthy, Senator George McGovern, and Senator Edmund Muskie. The people of the United States, in a national presidential primary, would then have named from these five outstanding Americans the one to be the Democratic candidate in the general election.

This method would maintain the necessity of the candidates adherence to party responsibility thereby preserving one of the great strengths of the two party system. This method would give all American citizens the opportunity to determine which leaders they preferred from a field of many rather than a choice of one out of two as is currently the case.

In order to implement this proposal the



national conventions should name the men of their choice by the first week in June. The national primary should be accomplished in September by the first Tuesday after Labor Day and the general election should be accomplished by November 30 in presidential election years.

The State of Idaho, in order to conform to action taken by the 1968 National Democratic Convention, should elect its delegates to the National Convention (June) at its own state convention to be held no later than the last week in April. This would allow at least one month for the state delegates to prepare for the National Convention.

In order to comply with the spirit of the 1968 National Democratic Convention, all individuals instrumental in selecting delegates to the National Convention should be elected during the calendar year of that election year. The case in point would be the election year of 1972. Therefore Idaho law should spell out in detail an election calendar which would culminate in selection of state delegates to the National Conventions to commence after January 1, 1972.

In keeping with the main thrust of this proposal i.e. to implement more participation at the grassroots level, Idaho Law should stipulate that precinct assemblies would be held on the first Friday in February and that precinct delegates to the Legislative District Assembly be duly elected that day and reported in writing to the legislative district chairman no later than the following Monday and that the instrument sent to the legislative district chairman be certified by the precinct committeeman and two voters registered in the precinct.

Next—Each legislative district should hold a district assembly on the second Friday in March and should elect in addition to the legislative district chairman and incumbent legislators (all of whom shall be automatic delegates) eight delegates to the state convention. These delegates shall be certified to the state chairman no later than the Monday following the assembly by the district chairman and the duly elected secretary.

Thus the election calendar would look like this visual aid.

#### ELECTION CALENDAR—1972

1. February—Precinct Assembly.
2. March—Leg. Dist. Assembly.
3. April—State Convention.
4. June—National Convention.
5. September—National Primary.
6. November—General Election.

Item No. 1.—The Precinct Assembly in February would comply with the 1968 Democratic National Convention resolution which stated in part that "all feasible efforts be made to assure that delegates are selected through procedures open to public participation within the calendar year of the National Convention." The function of the Precinct Assembly is to elect delegates to the Legislative District Assembly.

Item No. 2.—The Legislative District Assembly in March is preferable to a county assembly in that it adheres to the democratic principle of one man-one vote and would more nearly accomplish reapportionment in political party activities than has been the case heretofore. The function of the Legislative District Assembly is to elect delegates to the state convention.

Item No. 3.—The State Convention would need to be held in April so that state strategy along with other planning could be accomplished in sufficient time previous to the National Convention. The State Convention would elect delegates to the National Convention.

Item No. 4.—The National Convention would serve its new function best in June. Naming several favorite sons instead of one would require considerable time for each to campaign for the National Primary.

Item No. 5.—A September National Primary. This would give the candidates almost three months in which to mount a campaign for the General Election to be held before the end of November.

The foregoing proposal would satisfy the most recent expectations for more public participation within political parties and is hereby submitted for consideration by the Idaho State Democratic Party and the 1970 session of the Idaho State Legislature.

#### AIR POLLUTION AND THE AUTOMOBILE

#### HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, on December 8, 1969, I sat as a member of a congressional panel investigating automotive air pollution. The seriousness of air pollution is increasing daily. In the United States, studies have shown that auto exhausts account for 60 percent of all air pollution.

The hearings in New York City provided an excellent opportunity to discuss the controversies surrounding the problems of our environment and the possible alternatives and solutions. I believe the hearing went a long way toward clarifying some of the issues and served as an important first step toward action in this area.

Because I feel that discussion should not stop with Monday's panel, I am inserting a transcript of my remarks into the Record:

#### TEXT OF TRANSCRIPT

A thought occurred to me the other day—What about passing a law that each automobile come equipped with the following warning: "Warning: automobiles may be hazardous to your health." A bit extreme you may think? I think otherwise, and just think what an effective bumper sticker it would make!

In the 1960's urban man has become the victim rather than the master of his environment. In past centuries, man was a victim of natural disasters; today he has fallen prey to manmade disasters. Over 173 million tons of pollutants fall on the United States each year. Over 88 million tons of such waste can be traced to motor vehicle emissions. Such residue falls heaviest on the shoulders, the lungs, the eyes, and the noses of the urban man.

Physicians have delved into the physical effects of air pollution. Our elderly, our youth, individuals suffering from respiratory and pulmonary diseases have become the helpless victims of our negligence in this area. Repeated exposures to contaminated air have been known to wear down the body's defense mechanisms against respiratory disease. An association between high density living, air pollution and respiratory illness has been found by researchers. Indeed, urban living may impair health!

In many areas we have come a long way from the "let the public be damned" attitude of the 19th century. The consumer today is assumed to have certain inalienable rights—rights that were alien only a few years ago. Unfortunately, there have been notable exceptions to this new policy. In still too many cases, technology and progress have been justified only on the basis of immediate economic benefits.

I feel that the automobile industry has been guilty of disregarding public demands. Only when the clamor became loud enough, did they finally begin to activate themselves. Yet, today, effective emission control devices remain the exception rather than the rule. Instead, the consuming public has been given engines with greater horsepower—which come in very handy in midtown traffic jams. Yet, anyone who has ridden behind a bus in one of those jams knows that he is facing a test of survival—he must prevent asphyxia from setting in.

Do we have to wait for major snowstorms when automobiles are banned from the streets to get air pollution down to a tolerable level?

Perhaps public clamor has not been loud enough. Or perhaps because there are only a few large firms controlling the market, these firms can afford to ignore public demands. Our legal system has ceased to tolerate contracts in restraint of trade. But it has not been forward looking enough to condemn market practice in restraint of trade. I think that our courts could become an arena for the solution of some of those problems.

In the past, we have looked upon air as the most infinite of our resources. We may have droughts; we may have to find new sources of fuel; but we always thought we would have a supply of air. It was invisible—yet omnipresent. As the amount of contaminated air over our cities increases, we must view that resource as finite, and in danger of possible extinction. A view from the New Jersey side of the Hudson or from the top of any large building will confirm the change that has taken place. As air ceases being invisible, it ceases to be healthy. To some extent, the old cliché "what we cannot see, cannot hurt us"; is true of air. It is time to make air invisible again.

I feel there has been a technological and institutional lag in the area we will be discussing today. Traditionally, nothing has been too much of a challenge to American industry or to the American scientists. The operating code has been: "the impossible takes a little longer." Yet, to achieve the impossible requires time, will, and resources. The Federal budget for air pollution control is only 1½% of our defense budget. Federal grants to New York City to combat air pollution totaled only \$212,608 in the first half of the fiscal year 1969. I think the time for a basic reassessment of our national priorities has come.

I believe that today's hearings will go a long way toward clarifying some of the questions that are being raised. Is there a workable alternative to the internal combustion engine? Is there a device that can be installed on the engine that could cut the amount of poison spewing into the atmosphere? How far away are we from the development of such a device? And what can the Congress do to speed up the process?

Congress has been in the forefront of the fight against pollution. It has been the major innovative body. As a Member of Congress, I do not want to see that initiative fall by the wayside. I want to see it expand into broader and better programs. I want to see more imagination and insight brought to the difficult problems that require action.

I am, therefore, happy to be here to learn, to ask questions, and to voice my opinion on the matter of auto emissions and the pollution it has fostered. I plan to see that effective enforcement procedures are enacted.

Looking at our pollution problem, I now know why we are asked to see America first—If we continue to pollute our atmosphere at the rate we have been, we will find it difficult to see anything in the years ahead.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN—A  
FAREWELL

## HON. RALPH T. SMITH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an excellent letter entitled "Farewell to Dirksen From a School Boy," written by Doug Frazer.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Moline (Ill.) Daily Dispatch,  
Sept. 23, 1969]

FAREWELL TO DIRKSEN FROM A SCHOOL BOY

DEAR EDITOR: Politics, the saying goes, is the art of the possible, and in the world's preeminent deliberative body, Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen was a practitioner of the possible "par excellence." With the late Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio, Sen. Dirksen probably was the most widely respected Senator of his generation.

Yet, whereas Sen. Taft was revered for the power of his intellect, Sen. Dirksen was admired for his gifts as a political technician.

Sen. Taft was a philosopher; Sen. Dirksen basically was a philosophical doer. In an age that practically has forgotten what rhetoric is, Sen. Dirksen was the closest thing we had to a Ciceronian rhetorician.

Perhaps when all else about him is forgotten, he will be remembered for that. Words fell from his mouth mellifluously. Listening to him in comparison with most other contemporary senators was like listening to a 33 rpm recording of the New York Philharmonic played on the best stereo set, in contrast to a 78 rpm recording to the local 5th grade band played on grandpa's old Victrola. He knew what well-chosen words, well-spoken and properly laced with humor, could do. For him and the United States, they did a great deal.

The essential purpose of rhetoric is to persuade. Sen. Dirksen's extraordinary talent as a legislator was his capacity to persuade a majority of senators to vote with him on a particular issue. As the Senate's Republican leader for 10 years, during none of which he had a Republican majority in the Senate, and during eight of which he had a Democrat in the White House, Sen. Dirksen worked political miracles.

In doing so, he infuriated all segments of the political spectrum. His efforts brought about Senate confirmation of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, and Senate passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964.

Yet, he was instrumental in the Senate's recent approval of the Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System, and he labored diligently for the day when constitutional amendments could be approved that would alter the effect of the Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions and deny the court's authority in cases involving nondenominational prayers in the public schools.

"The letters of Cicero breathe the purest effusions of the exalted patriot," Jefferson wrote. So did the orations of the last Cicero, Everett Dirksen. He loved America, loved it absolutely. His patriotism was manifested in many ways, but perhaps no more clearly than in his constant forensic struggle to make the marigold the national flower.

The marigold, he told the Senate, has a "rugged humility of character; and, like the American eagle and the American flag, (is) an exclusively American emblem." He might as well have been describing himself, for behind the clouds of florid verbiage, there

was a ruggedly humble senator who stood exclusively for American interests. For that, too, we who remain behind, must send him final gratitude and wish him every success as he delivers the votes on the celestial Senate floor.

DOUG FRAZER, age 15.

WHEN RELIEF FROM TAX ISN'T

## HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon urged that the Congress institute certain reforms in our tax structure, with a view to closing the loopholes and insuring that the burden of taxes were more equally borne. He urged an undertaking that had long been neglected—all too long.

The House responded by the passage of a tax reform bill on August 7. It may not have been to the liking of the administration in every respect, nor to the liking of any one of us. It was nonetheless a tax reform measure of considerable magnitude and merit. In writing this measure our Committee on Ways and Means took into account not only the need for reform that all would pay his fair share, but also the need for revenue to keep our budget in balance.

What has been taking place in the other body may be politically popular, but it is fiscally irresponsible. What began as a tax reform bill is being converted into a tax relief bill. This is being done at a time when all of us are called upon to tighten our belts to combat inflation.

I am inserting as a part of my remarks an editorial entitled "When 'Relief' From Tax Isn't," which appeared on December 5 in the Danville, Ill., Commercial News. It well says what needs to be said on this vitally important matter.

The editorial follows:

[From the Commercial-News, Dec. 5, 1969]

WHEN "RELIEF" FROM TAX ISN'T

Tax relief is desired so universally that opposition to any form of it is bound to be unpopular.

But before Americans begin to applaud the Senate's action in raising personal income tax exemptions from \$600 to \$800 per year, some sober analysis is in order.

Ultimately, the approved amendment sponsored by Sen. Albert Gore, D-Tenn., would result in an annual revenue loss of some \$8.8 billion to the government. This is about the same as the estimated cost of the House-approved tax reform measure, which leaves the personal exemption as it is. But the Gore bill, proposing a \$100 hike in the exemption next year and in 1971 would cost \$5 billion more in the first 2½ years.

If an expanding economy can make up the difference, or most of it, that is one thing. But some economists warn of at least a mild recession in the first half of 1970. Should their predictions prove correct, government income will drop.

This would make balancing the budget even more difficult. And unbalanced federal budgets have contributed substantially to a decline in value of the dollar—or to put it another way inflation.

The more the dollar drops in purchasing

power, the higher prices will go. As cost of living rises, the demand for higher wages becomes more intense. The likelihood of strikes increases.

The question the public must ask itself is this: Would the extra amount taxpayers might keep through greater personal exemptions translate into more purchasing power? Or would it, in the end, contribute to an accelerated inflation that would more than wipe out this kind of tax "relief?"

Further, many of the senators who voted for the Gore amendment want the government to spend more in fighting poverty and pollution, more for mass transportation systems, more for education, more for almost everything—and the devil take the consequences fiscally. If they would promise prudence in demanding greater federal expenditures in return for assisting the taxpayers, their posture would seem reasonable.

Giving lower and middle income taxpayers a better break on rates, plugging up loopholes so that the tremendously wealthy may not escape paying their fair share, eliminating special concessions for favored groups all are legitimate and sensible phases of tax reform. So also, perhaps, is a stretched out plan to increase personal exemptions.

But the approach must be more reasoned than that exhibited by the Senate. It is simply impossible to have it all ways: Sizable and immediate increases in personal exemption; a slowing of inflation, hence, a brake on cost of living rises, and enough money for the federal government to fight the war and do those things for the nation which the big spenders in Congress are demanding.

Let us hope that the House, which has shown itself to be more practical about tax reform and relief, will be able to moderate the enthusiastic but imprudent zeal of the Senate.

## FLORISSANT TAKES LEAD IN BANNING OF DDT

## HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the city of Florissant, Mo., in my district, has taken the lead in banning DDT. I believe my colleagues will be interested in the following communication from Florissant's mayor, James J. Eagan, which explains the city's position:

FLORISSANT TAKES LEAD IN BANNING OF  
DDT

Mayor James J. Eagan hailed the Florissant City Council's passage of the Bill he introduced, banning DDT, as a major breakthrough in Missouri. The City is the first municipality to ban the storage, use, sale, or disposal of DDT, effective January 1, 1970.

The Mayor took issue with the Federal Administration's plans to limit the use of DDT over a two-year period. "This is a small step forward," he stated, "because the Federal Administration has now gone on record that DDT is a threat, and that—even if it were banned tomorrow,—purging the country of the effects of this toxic killer will take at least ten years!"

"Why must we wait over two years?" Mayor Eagan asks. "Overwhelming evidence is now at hand that this chemical and similar hard pesticides are destroying wildlife and fish, and are affecting human life."

A respected conservationist recently stated that the milk of human mothers is so poisoned with DDT that it would be illegal to ship it under inter-state commerce standards.

Over 180,000 tons of this toxic chemical are



being dumped yearly into our atmosphere and waterways. How many hundreds of thousands of tons are now being manufactured, or are in storage, waiting to be spread over the country?

A Comprehensive Report on the dangerous effects of DDT was recently compiled by Florissant's Director of Parks and Recreation Director, Jerry Bachmann. His conclusions are that the pollution caused by the use of DDT is the worst type of pollution threatening man and his environment today.

"A complete and immediate ban on this use of DDT," Mayor Eagan contends, "should have the highest priority with legislators and government officials everywhere!"

### THE GREAT RACE

#### HON. DONALD D. CLANCY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from a young man in my district, and I would like to present the remarks of a Cincinnati teenager regarding one of the most pressing problems facing us today—pollution. I am sure that all Members of the House of Representatives will be most interested in what this young gentleman has to say. His words demonstrate the sincere interest some teenagers have in solving the problems of our day. His letter reads as follows:

DEAR SIR: A race is being run in these United States, and we're losing. A dark finish line approaches as we round the final bend. A great cry has risen from the stands, and those stands are filled with American people. For that race is their race and the results will weigh down not only upon them but upon all the generations that follow them.

If you have not already guessed, the above paragraph refers directly to our fight against environment. Since the days of Teddy Roosevelt we have been engaged in a conflict of monumental proportions and now the final crisis has come. The time for words is over and the time for action is at hand!

In the name of "progress" and "prosperity" we have polluted our streams, poisoned our air, and, destroyed the natural blessings which God has bestowed upon our country. No longer can our natural resources be ruthlessly exploited by the hands of a few at the cost of all. The situation, to say the least, has grown out of hand, for even our own population threatens our future happiness.

The area in which you and I live is a perfect example. The Miami Rivers, the Ohio, or any of our streams have become terribly polluted. Park areas are undersized now. What will they be like twenty years from now? Our factories have been extremely lax about pouring their wastes into the air. (I know, because I live next to one). Many of us have waited patiently for action, but we are tired of being kidded and treated with apathy.

Though I am only of sixteen years, I do not feel that you and your generation are more responsible than mine; just as your parents were no more responsible than you for the things that happen. We collectively are responsible and we collectively can and must act!

I am thankful for this land, thankful for its government, and thankful for its leaders who have risen to every need. May they once again meet this challenge and seek to solve it through their unselfish devotion to this land and its people. We the American people are

behind you. Do not hesitate to act. Now is the time oh statesmen and politicians to come to the aid of your people.

Sincerely,

ANDY BREWER.

131 Burns, Cincinnati, Ohio.

### THE DYING PASSENGER TRAIN

#### HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress a very interesting article written by Sylvia Porter entitled "The Dying Passenger Train" that appeared in today's Evening Star. The slow progress being made in the field of improved passenger train service is very evident. The United States of America with its crowded highways and airways is fast approaching a crisis.

This Government should be moving forward in the mass transportation field. The accent that has been placed on laying miles and miles of cement highways should be shifted to an area that can bring some relief to our urban areas. Commonsense is needed. A railroad policy is sadly helping to contribute to the disappearance of the train passenger. As we approach 1970 we find the railroad industry has not come up with one new idea. Foreign countries have put this Nation to shame. Japan, Canada, France, and Italy are a few of the nations of the world that have fast, comfortable passenger railroad service. Why not us?

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Dec. 9, 1969]

### THE DYING PASSENGER TRAIN

(By Sylvia Porter)

A San Francisco family is planning to come East for a visit next summer. They want to come by Pullman train because this might be the last chance the children have for a long-distance overnight train ride.

They cannot go directly from California to New York without changing trains in Chicago or flying the last leg of the trip. The last through California-New York sleeping car was discontinued in 1958.

Today you cannot get a direct train between such major cities as Pittsburgh and Cleveland, Memphis and Nashville, Tulsa and Oklahoma City, Boston and Portland, Me.

The truth is passengers have abandoned the passenger train. In 1968:

Long-haul train travel was cut 20 percent—the biggest yearly drop in passenger miles since World War II.

The number of passengers carried by the long distance lines dropped to 296 million—one third the number carried in 1944.

Railroad passenger revenue on long-haul lines dropped to \$291 million, against \$1.7 billion a quarter century before.

The number of sleeping cars dwindled to 1,037 vs. 6,223 in 1948 and the number of dining cars to 627 from 1,730.

In 1929 there were 20,000 passenger trains. There are now fewer than 500.

So complete is our abandoning of the railroad that today only 1 percent of long-distance travelers in the United States go via trains. In contrast, the number of miles traveled on car trips each year has soared

past one trillion and the number of miles by plane each year is over 100 billion.

A major factor in this, to be sure, has been the railroads' contempt for passenger convenience and comfort. Frequently, the dirt and discomfort, lack of dining cars and filthy bathrooms are enough to turn even the most sympathetic into a train hater.

But whatever the causes, the big long-haul trains are losing huge amounts today on passenger service—at a time when mail revenues, which for years have helped subsidize passenger trains, have also been dropping sharply.

Congress is now grappling with a half dozen different proposals for saving long-distance railroad passenger service. One bill, introduced by Sen. Vance Hartke, D-Ind., would require the federal government to cover the deficits on any long-haul passenger service it requires the railroads to continue for the public good. In addition, it would authorize the federal transportation department to invest in modern, new equipment which would then be rented to the railroads for long-haul runs. The precedents are: Washington already has invested billions in highways for automobiles and now wants to invest more billions in airports.

The Transportation Department wants to set up a Comsat-type private corporation which would try to run good, profitable, high-speed trains in high density corridors such as San Francisco-Los Angeles, Chicago-Cleveland, Houston-New Orleans, Chicago-Indianapolis-Cincinnati, Milwaukee-Chicago.

But, despite the instant success of the fast trains running between New York and Washington and New York and Boston, an astonishing point is that neither government officials nor the railroad have undertaken a definitive nationwide market survey to find out what kind of service you really want.

As congestion on the highways and airways intensifies, top-notch trains could have a real appeal to many people, even if they take considerably longer. We should find out how this service can be integrated into our future transportation network.

### THE TAX REFORM MESS

#### HON. BARBER B. CONABLE, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, in today's New York Times appears an editorial entitled "The Tax Reform Mess," by Tom Wicker. I do not always agree with Mr. Wicker; indeed I do not subscribe to everything he says in this editorial feature. Nevertheless, I am placing what he has written today in the RECORD because I think it is a timely warning with taxes so much on our minds. Mr. Wicker points out that the bill being debated in the Senate is reform of increasing modesty, while it now represents about \$12 billion loss in revenue. I addressed the House on this subject yesterday, and I am not here to repeat myself today. But I think my colleagues will be interested in Mr. Wicker's tentative conclusions. He seems to propose an extension of Presidential power over taxes, questioning whether Congress can or will be responsible enough to handle intelligently this central issue between the Government and the people. His voice is not a lonely one and we must realize that our branch of Government is constantly being tested by forces within and with-

out to see if it can measure up to the needs of the Nation. Those of us who believe in representative government had better be prepared to help it function responsibly, if we are not prepared to help liquidate its most basic functions, including the taxing power.

The editorial follows:

**THE TAX REFORM MESS**  
(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, December 8.—Anyone who wonders why so many Americans have become skeptical, if not cynical, about the ability of their political institutions to function equitably and efficiently need only look at the mess being made of the tax reform bill by Congress, without much counterbalance from the Nixon Administration.

What started out as a tax reform bill has become much more nearly a straight tax relief bill. The essence of reform ought to be that it closes loopholes and enhances equity, raises some taxes and lowers others, but does not much affect total revenues. At last look, the bill now being debated in the Senate had some reform in it all right—notably a reduction of the oil-depletion allowance—but its net over-all effect on the budget, including \$6.5 billion worth of increases in Social Security benefits, would be a loss of about \$12-billion in revenue.

**SHORT-RUN BONANZA**

No doubt this revenue loss will be reduced in the Senate-House conference that will put together the final bill—but the wheeling and dealing is not over in the Senate and it now seems likely that the bill is going to be a short-run bonanza for taxpayers.

Short-run is the right word. One reason is the inflationary effect of a big tax cut, which could eat up much of the reduction before the taxpayer realizes it. Another is the blow to already poor prospects for funding the badly needed social programs which have been so long starved by the war, the inflation and the usual political penury in this field.

**SPECIAL PROVISIONS**

The biggest breaks are not even necessarily going to those who need them most. Moreover, the bill—unknown to the lay readers—apparently is full of special provisions for large corporations and foundations; one of these, for instance, might cost telephone and natural gas customers as much as \$1 billion a year in higher rates.

Senator Edward Kennedy detailed some of these concessions, including one he sponsored for the Western Massachusetts Electric Company, on the sensible grounds that it was better for the public to know about such matters. Otherwise, Kennedy said, it might appear that "their sponsors had something to hide." Indeed it might. As Kennedy said, some of these special tax breaks are justified—but then so would be the special provisions thousands of individual American citizens might be able to get for themselves if they could afford to hire powerful lobbyists, batteries of tax lawyers, or even a politician or two, to handle their grievances.

Coming on the heels of the long battle President Johnson had to wage to get the original surcharge enacted, and the struggle Mr. Nixon had to go through to get it partially extended, the mess being made of tax reform will surely re-enforce those who believe Congress ought to delegate the taxing power—as it has already delegated the tariff power—to the executive branch.

The executive is by no means infallible. The inflation that is still one of Mr. Nixon's major problems got its biggest impetus when the Johnson Administration, for political purposes, underestimated the cost of the Vietnam war for fiscal 1967 by \$10 billion—almost 50 percent. This helped create the kind of climate in Congress that caused Mr. John-

son to delay far too long in asking for the surcharge and stretched out the battle to approve it for more than a year. Had the President been more open about the cost of the war, and demonstrated the need for new taxes long before he did, the inflation might have been far more effectively controlled.

**PRESIDENTIAL POWER PROPOSED**

Nevertheless, President Kennedy's suggestion that the President should have the power to adjust tax rates up or down, subject to the veto power of Congress, looks better all the time. Herbert Stein of the Nixon Council of Economic Advisers has suggested a scheme by which Congress would set a basic tax rate for a period of years, but the President would propose for each year either a negative or a positive surcharge—that is a percentage to be either added to or deducted from a taxpayer's basic tax—for Congressional approval.

Considering the experience of recent years, this might make possible more sensitive and responsive budgetary and economic management, which only the executive branch can provide. Whether the executive could handle complex and subtle questions of major tax reform any more equitably than Congress is another question; maybe, as Stein recently said, the whole subject is a "Pandora's box" that cannot be opened without the wind of scrambling for advantage being seen in the Senate.

**BEHAVIOR OF TROOPS IN VIETNAM**

**HON. CLARENCE D. LONG**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, our combat troops in South Vietnam must be prepared for moral as well as physical confrontations. Immediate steps must be taken to include specific instructions on behavior toward civilians in basic and advanced troop training. I have conveyed my views and recommendations on this subject to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird in a letter which I should like to share with my colleagues:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., December 4, 1969.

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD,  
Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The alleged massacre of hundreds of women, old men and babies by the United States Army troops in Song My, Vietnam, is deeply depressing to every American.

The Song My incident points up a serious gap in the training of our hand-to-hand combat troops with regard to treatment of civilians. I have learned that instructions given our fighting men on how to react to all the various situations involving civilian personnel, specifically the type of situation in which an officer or sergeant orders the killing of civilian non-combatants, are vague, general and inadequate. This was apparent at Song My, where members of Charlie Company, in some cases fearful of disobeying an order, reportedly took part in a massacre.

Combat calls for reflex action. Troops must be prepared to react instantly to every situation that might arise, including encounters with civilians. Otherwise, events such as at Song My—and others that have been reported—will be repeated. At the very least, a U.S. soldier in Vietnam should know:

(1) What is United States policy toward treatment of civilians in Vietnam? One soldier who walked through Song My after the alleged massacre told reporters, "... if you can shoot artillery and bombs in there every night, how can the people in there be worth so much?"

(2) How should civilians be dealt with in combat situations? A corporal said of one village: "They're all V.C., you can just tell. You don't see many young men in there, do you? All women, children and old men. Where'd all those guys go? Out with the V.C. that's where." American soldiers must be taught where to draw the line between Viet Cong and non-combatant civilians.

One of the participants of the alleged massacre at Song My is said to have told reporters, "It just seemed like it was the natural thing to do at the time. My buddies had been getting killed or wounded. What it really was—it was just mostly revenge." American soldiers must also be taught to draw the line on revenge!

(3) What to do if given a command which violates the U.S. policy toward civilians? One of the members of Charlie Company actually shot himself in order, so he reported, to keep from participating in the massacre!

(4) How and when to report an illegal command or an illegal action without fear of reprisal—when, for example, the command is accompanied by a threat? In another incident, not connected with Song My, one young patrol member—ordered by his sergeant to kill a Vietnamese girl that his four comrades had kidnapped and raped—was allegedly told that if he refused to carry out the order "he would be reported KIA"—killed in action.

(5) How to insure that unlawful acts will not be tolerated or "hushed up"? When the same young soldier reported the rape-murder to his platoon commander, he said he was told, "What's happened is the way things are, so why try to buck the system ... its ... hopeless to try to buck it in the middle of war. Better relax about that Vietnamese girl. The kind of thing that happened to her—what else can you expect in a combat zone?"

Indeed, one Congressman who attempted to initiate an investigation of the Song My massacre said publicly yesterday that had L. Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, not interceded, "they [the Defense Department] would have routed [my letter] to some public affairs officer in Vietnam and I might never have heard anything." The Defense Department should set up effective and speedy channels through which to report charges of gross misconduct with the certainty that they will be fully investigated.

It is not enough to prepare our troops for physical confrontations; we must also prepare them for moral confrontations or dilemmas. I urge that immediate steps be taken to make instruction in how to behave toward civilians a part of both the basic and advanced training of our troops. I urge, too, that the Code of Military Justice be revised to deal specifically with these points.

I look forward to hearing from you on this grave and urgent matter.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE D. LONG.

**BIG TRUCK BILL**

**HON. FRED SCHWENGEL**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorials for today are from the Washington Star, and the Washington Daily News of July 19, 1969, and Septem-



ber 6, 1969, in the District of Columbia. The editorials follow:

[From the Washington Star, Dec. 9, 1969]

#### GRUMBLES ABOUT BELCHING GIANTS

(By John Sherwood)

Because he has voluntarily chosen the lot of the far-suburban dweller (with whatever hardships it may have to offer) over the lot of the city dweller (with whatever hardships that might have to offer) the Rambler, who occasionally finds himself driving home to the boondocks late at night, has had to deal with bellowing giants.

Gilding home toward Severna Park near Annapolis, on the John Hanson Highway (Route 50), he is often pursued by steel monsters weighing 73,000 pounds and loaded with cargoes of frozen shrimp and squawking chickens.

Their bright eyes seem to come out of nowhere until they're looking down the Rambler's back and blinking for him to get out of the way. There is much spitting and coughing and backfiring and smoke pouring out of the diesel-drinking dragons, and all the Rambler can say is that if he were about 80,000 pounds heavier he might give them a bit of a quarrel.

When they finally pass, after great struggles, the road shakes and the Rambler shakes. The muffler is sticking straight up to heaven and releasing poisonous fumes with a furious, frantic fury, and fiery sparks fly out of those rusted smokestacks.

The driver is bouncing up and down in his seat in a white, grayish undershirt, and he must have the feeling of getting out of hell safely as he passes the Rambler's weary six cylinders with a vengeance like that of bullies armed with brass knuckles. The Rambler slows down, thinks about hollering "Road Hog!" and then passes him at the crest of the next hill as the heavily loaded truck struggles to make it at 6 mph.

Tractor-trailers stink. They make far too much noise. They are sometimes operated recklessly. They are often dirtier even than the Rambler's machine, and even if they do deliver most of the consumer goods that sustain and sometimes please him, he is not a truck fan.

So now the Rambler hears that a House Public Works subcommittee is conducting hearings on a controversial bill that would allow these highway hogs to be increased in weight by more than 35,000 pounds from 73,280 pounds to a maximum gross weight of 108,500 pounds, increased in length to 70 feet and use up to nine feet of highway width.

And the Nixon administration is giving qualified support to the bill, calling it an economic boon.

Well, the Rambler doesn't think it will work.

Many a night over the last five years he has seen trucks wrecked and piled up in the ditches along the John Hanson Highway between Washington and Annapolis, and he can't help thinking that perhaps the drivers were being overworked and were falling asleep at the wheel. And now, apparently, there are drivers willing to testify to this.

Truck companies are being accused of forcing their drivers to drive to the point of exhaustion for increased profits. The Rambler doesn't dare to even think about safety and mechanical repairs.

The drivers also have a habit of pulling off to the shoulder of the road to sleep at the intersection of Rt. 50 and the Beltway, and there is much frantic jockeying for position as trucks come off the ramp at full chugging speed to encounter us little ones.

At one point in his commuter life the Rambler was confronted with a situation whereby a truck was zooming up the ramp as another truck was blasting out of a sleeping spot. The ramp truck jumped immediately into the eastbound passing lane and forced the Ram-

bler across a muddy median strip, over the westbound lanes, and into a field.

No one stopped, and the Rambler's courageous little vehicle eventually had to be towed.

But the worst places to encounter trucks are in tunnels. Never has the Rambler heard such roars for the sheer sake of roaring. Truck mufflers must be built with holes in them.

No . . . the Rambler finds nothing glamorous and polite or knightly about these box-cars on rubber wheels.

Got time for a horror story? Once, as the Rambler was heading north toward Baltimore on Route 3 after leaving Rt. 50, he found himself in the passing lane, passing a car at about 60 mph.

On the rising side of a small hill, as he approached its crest, he thought he detected headlights coming head-on toward him in the wrong direction.

The Rambler jumped back into the right-hand lane just in time as two headlights of a roaring comet rocketed by.

Tooting his horn in righteous indignation, the Rambler watched the great tractor fly by. To this day he wonders if he ever made it to Richmond.

[From the Washington Daily News, July 19, 1969]

#### THE TRUCK BILL AGAIN

Congress, which last year shelved a bill to permit longer, wider and heavier trucks on the Interstate Highway System, is engaged now in studying a somewhat modified version.

The new bill would lift the present 73,280-pound weight limit, extend the width limit from eight to eight-and-a-half feet and impose a length limit of 70 feet. This last provision was absent from last year's bill.

The trucking industry argues an axle-spacing formula set out in the new bill would permit more even weight distribution, thus easing the strain on bridges and highways despite heavier loads and greater length.

These factors, the truckers contend, also would promote safety by permitting improved braking ability for big rigs and better road visibility for their drivers.

The industry's primary interest in the bill, of course, is the greater "economic return" larger vehicles would provide for truckers and lower per unit hauling costs for customers—a legitimate interest, certainly.

But that interest must be weighed against the public's interest in the use of the Interstate System—a \$60 billion, taxpayer-financed project—and the other highway arteries onto which it empties.

Executive Vice President George Kachlein of the American Automobile Association, which opposes the bill, charges the extra truck weights permitted (up to 108,500 pounds for a nine-axle truck) would cost \$1.8 billion for road repairs in 10 years.

And even if the bigger rigs could operate safely on the Interstate, millions of miles of feeder roads on which some of them would have to travel are far below the Interstate's design and safety standards, Congress has been warned by the National Association of County Engineers, the National Association of Counties and other opponents.

Further, the improved safety factors of the bigger rigs are projected rather than proved. And the sight of a passing truck 15 feet longer and tens of thousands of pounds heavier than the 55-foot vehicles now permitted thruout most of the East seems unlikely to steady the nerves of the average motorist.

On balance, the truckers' interests are outweighed by the public interest in safe and economic use of the highways. The new bill should join the old one on the Congressional shelf.

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept 6, 1969]

#### SAFETY AND BIG TRUCKS

The campaign for longer, fatter trucks and buses on interstate highways has taken an odd turn that could lead to future trouble for the nation's motorists.

Tho it insists on a number of changes in the proposed bill, the Nixon Administration seems willing to accept a softening of the law before the safety factor is fully explored.

As a precaution, there would be a three-year delay in the effective date of the new regulations while the Department of Transportation devised safety standards for the bigger trucks.

It would be more logical to check the safety first and consider the bill later.

The bill, backed by the trucking industry, would increase the maximum truck width from eight to eight-and-a-half feet, increase the maximum weight (loaded) from 73,280 pounds to 108,500 pounds and set a 70-foot length limit—longer than now permitted in most states.

Federal Highway Administrator Francis C. Turner, who suggested the three-year moratorium, would like to set the maximum length at 65 feet and the maximum weight at 95,000 pounds.

Testifying before a House sub-committee on public roads, he said the new limits should apply to all roads built with Federal funds, not just to the 42,500-mile interstate system.

The motoring public is understandably wary of the big trucks now on the roads. And a glance at this week's newspapers shows why:

A Kentucky judge and his wife were killed when a tractor-trailer skidded on an Illinois highway, overturned and crushed their car.

A few hours later, a gas truck lost its brakes on a hill in upstate New York, collided with an oncoming station wagon and burst into flames, causing fires that destroyed four homes and popped the manhole covers from nearby sewers.

In view of the public concern about such accidents, Congress would be wise to go slow on the unproven super trucks.

Passage on a questionable bill—even with a built-in delay for safety testing—would not be in the public interest.

#### CAN WE PREVENT AN IRRITATION FROM BECOMING A MASSIVE INVASION OF PRIVACY?

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 8, 1969

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, if a man's home can be said to be his castle, then he needs the right to be able to raise the drawbridge occasionally. This means, among many other things, that he must be able to influence the contents of his family's mailbox. Yet, there is an industry in the United States which now has the capacity to diminish, if not destroy, this necessary part of civilized living, and which is becoming increasingly irritating to many of our citizens.

This is the complex of firms which have grown up around the renting and selling of names of individuals to commercial and nonprofit organizations. There is the suspicion that some commercial firms make more money selling lists of their customers than they do by servicing those customers, and there are

many firms who do nothing else but compile and distribute names, coupled with selected attributes or habits of our citizens. Those Americans who now regard the product of this virtually unregulated activity—junk mail—as an invasion of personal privacy have little recourse under current law.

Mailing list brokers and the direct mail industry do provide real and genuine services to the American people and to American business but, like any other group which touches every home in the Nation, they should be expected to balance the interests of their customers with the interests of our citizens. I intend to introduce, Monday, December 15, new legislation which, hopefully, will do just that.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post's Potomac of November 23, carried the following well-written article by Mr. Paul Hodge on this industry. It provides important background data for proposed action:

#### THOSE IRRITATING JUNK PHONE CALLS

(By Paul Hodge)

A young Capitol Hill woman, just two months pregnant, recently returned from her first visit to an obstetrician when she received a telephone call from a baby stroller salesman.

"I hardly knew myself that we were going to have a baby," her husband said, "when through the door comes a man with free baby gifts, trying to sell us a \$369 stroller that converts into a crib, bassinet, high chair, rocker, table and nine other things."

"He plugs in this record player with slides, narrated by Hugh Downs, and he sits in a corner reading a Sam Snead golf book—'Do you mind, I've seen this so often,' he says—while we listen for 40 minutes to the machine. He offers to throw in a free youth bed if we buy the stroller that night and when we say no he packs up his machine and his Sam Snead book and disappears."

It was the first of a new round of calls, letters and visits they were to receive from local salesmen. Their names had been added again, in several places, to the more than 500 million names now on computerized, categorized, telephone numbered, addressed, Zip Coded lists.

The lists, rented back and forth among the nation's businesses—for \$2.50 per 1000 names and up—are the source of most junk mail and junk telephone calls.

If you buy a car or boat, subscribe to a publication, give to a charity, attend a convention, have a telephone or charge account, belong to a club or church, buy a house or rent an apartment or even send in a cereal coupon you will probably be added to somebody's list.

Donors to the Catholic Missionary Society (USA) not only contributed cash but their names—114,000 contributors are now on a list for rent by Dunhill International List Co. for \$22.50 per 1,000 names.

The New York based firm also offers lists of over 500,000 Republican and Democratic contributors, 93,000 doctors who attend conventions and even 28,000 supporters of anti-Vietnam War appeals (all for \$22.50 per).

Many lists come from less obvious sources. The name of the woman who was two months pregnant was apparently given secretly to the stroller company by one of her friends, who was paid for the "referral" with a vaporizer or other small appliance, according to a spokesman for the Stroll-O-Chair Co. A nationwide door-to-door firm, it sells \$1 million of its contraptions a year in the Washington area and "we've just opened a branch in England."

Even people with "unlisted" phones are

listed, and sold. Haines "Criss Cross" directory of Ohio, which lists 870,000 Washington area residents by telephone number and address (for \$95 a year) also offers its patrons "a select address" list of 30,000 unlisted and unpublished phone owners here.

"Only hermits could avoid getting on lists," says John J. Daly of the Direct Mail Advertising Assn., "but then they'd probably get on somebody's list of hermits."

"Where did you get my number. Where did you get my name?" is becoming a more and more common cry across the country as citizens, business and courts mull over whether the increasing quantity of junk mail and telephone calls is becoming an invasion of privacy.

The California Motor Vehicle Department is now being sued by car owners who object to the almost universal practice of selling their names (complete with number, make, model, year and license numbers of the cars they own) to the highest bidder. The car lists can provide names of all Cadillac or Mercedes owners in a state, names of two-car families, etc.

Maryland's Deputy Motor Vehicles Commissioner Ejner Johnson agrees the practice "raises the question of invasion of privacy. It is also an anachronism and the state will possibly modify the procedure."

Maryland has sold car owners names to commercial outfits for 30 years, Johnson says, first on an unofficial "handshake" basis and now under provisions of state law. The names were offered recently for \$30,000 (for one year) to the R. L. Polk Co., a Detroit-based firm which publishes alphabetical and address directories in more than 1,000 U.S. cities.

Polk paid \$11,000 last year for Virginia's computerized list of 2 million vehicle owners and \$150 to the District for its list of 277,000 vehicle owners (it also gave the District 53 free copies of the list for police and city use).

Addresses and new phone numbers are a highly-prized source of potential customers for newspapers, dairies and other home-delivery firms, as well as for most stores.

New phone numbers—like unpublished numbers—are considered top secret by the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. In the past many telephone companies, including Baltimore's regularly sold such lists. Because of customers complaints, however, most stopped the practice.

Still, lists of new local numbers are bought and sold here regularly, as they are around the country. Fred Langbein, a C&P spokesman, insists the lists do not come from his company. The head of Phone Power, the only telephone interviewing and soliciting firm listed in Washington's Yellow Pages, is more skeptical.

"There's no question in my mind that there is collusion between phone company officials and various vested interests."

"Such lists are exchanged either *sub rosa* or above board. Many firms pay to get lists. I got them for years (in another city), not for folding money but from a friend who wanted to help me when I was starting out in the business," says Susan Klein. The wife of a Justice Department lawyer, Mrs. Klein began Phone Power in her Vienna home three years ago and now has accounts for weekly newspapers, cosmetic and industrial firms and also does public relations work for hotels and businesses.

It's definitely a black market situation, she says. "The list sells here for about 10 cents a name."

"Other solicitors confirm that lists of new numbers are sold in Washington, usually paid for in cash to unidentified persons, and probably are taken from the phone company's 'Daily Addendum'—a closely guarded list of new and changed numbers."

The Addendum may be secret but some new numbers escape quickly. During the April 1968, riots an editor of a local newspaper in-

stalled a private hot line between his desk and other top editors. The number was known only to them and the telephone company. The first call on the hot line came the following morning. A woman cheerfully said "Good morning" and inquired if he wished to buy a subscription to his own paper.

It's not illegal to sell customers' names, but complaints have forced most utilities to keep them confidential. Washington Gas Light Co. PR man John Raymond admits "one employee was fired not too long ago for making extra copies of our list of new customers and selling it to a milk company."

Apartment houses and real estate dealers are additional suppliers of names. Some dealers feed names to movers and other appreciative parties. And apartment house managers, mostly women, are known to be easily persuaded—with Green Stamps—to do the same.

Getting names, addresses and phone numbers—the two-car family with the boat, executive father, three kids, rich census tract, choice Zip Code, new street in new development of \$50,000 homes, right ethnic name, subscribes to Fortune and gives to charities (there is a listed prospect for every product)—that's only the beginning.

Then comes the "performance" for telephone and door-to-door salesmen and the mailing for the mailers.

"The telephone is a performance. Each time, a small dramatic performance," says Mrs. Klein. "First a telephone salesman must have a pleasant voice . . . sound attractive physically. The chances are they will have a pleasant conversation—the public is generally pleasant—for the majority of people are glad to receive calls."

"Remember 85 per cent of those who answer the phone are women. The world is becoming a lonelier and lonelier place each year (think of all the women who sit at home and drink all day). It makes them feel good when someone calls."

"I've employed handicapped, blind, every race, creed and color, but I'm just interested in how they sound. One problem with hiring the handicapped is it's often harder to get afflicted persons to laugh, to enjoy conversation. I have one 76-year-old girl working for me now, and one 300-pound woman, and they're doing very well."

Mrs. Klein, who admits to interviewing 10,000 persons before hanging up her headset for a managerial post, says "we're a threshing machine, we separate the suspects from the prospects." Most calls will not result in sales, she says, "the ratio depends on what you're selling. Maybe one in 100 will buy an airplane, maybe one in 10 will buy three pairs of nylons for \$1.89 . . . we sift out the persons who are going to buy." Thus not only do her girls make sales, they create a new, preferred list of purchasers.

The actual purchases are consummated by door-to-door salesmen, she says, since "phone sellers usually are bad door-to-door salesmen, and vice versa. They're different types, different temperaments. The phone after all is a scientific instrument, requiring mental, not physical activity, and a person must be able to sit in front of it hour after hour."

On telephone abuses Mrs. Klein speaks out loud and clear. A former magazine solicitor—she opened Time Inc's first Southern office (New Orleans) in 1957—she criticizes most magazine sales pitches today as "not ethical, a very skillfully written hoax." "One pitch," she says, "makes the housewife answer yes, yes, yes and the first thing she knows she's said yes to 17 magazines for 60 months and a little man arrives at her door the next day."

Many names and numbers given by magazine solicitors are fictitious, she adds. They can reach you but you can't reach them. She supports the Oregon law that requires all callers to identify themselves within 30 seconds (recently enacted by several other



states). Her girls always identify themselves immediately, she says, and if a person objects in any way to a call "we say 'I'm sorry I disturbed you' and hang up. I have a very small business but an honest one. I don't have to resort to crud like using fictitious names."

Besides magazine solicitors—for whom almost no one has kind words—Mrs. Klein also detests commercial organizations which greet new residents.

"They are just little spy organizations. They walk into a woman's house with free toothbrushes and walk out knowing everything about the family. All that information is then published and sold to local merchants. It's worse than a fraud, because the hostesses come to new families on the pretense of being friends and welcoming you into the neighborhood. I have seen the lists; they make juicy reading . . . Mrs. Jones needs drapes, etc."

Welcome Newcomer, affiliated with the Washington Credit Bureau, is currently under investigation by the Federal Trade Commission. Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher (D-N.J.), chairman of the special Subcommittee on the Invasion of Privacy, charged earlier this year that credit bureaus "were hiding behind the skirts of Welcome Newcomer hostesses" to gain information about new families for commercial purposes. Credit Bureau officials have declined to answer reporter's inquiries about Welcome Newcomer.

Telephone solicitation campaigns go in streaks. Last year magazine and encyclopedia salesmen ran rampant over the Washington area—followed by numerous complaints and newspaper stories about high-pressure sales.

This is the year of the land sale, free dinners, "free" Florida vacations (you pay for transportation and food) and expensive lots from the Pennsylvania mountains down to the Caribbean.

One of the larger Florida land-development firms, General Development Corp.—the Cowles family (Look Magazine) has long been a major stockholder—is a busy telephoner and dinner-giver here. Choosing names from the Criss Cross directory (avoiding only the poverty Zip Code area), they offer free three-hour dinners every night of the week.

"We used to offer free trips to our Florida properties but we dropped that. Too much of a gimmick," says Mrs. Ruby Moyer—whose first question was "How did you get this number? It's unlisted." (A "customer" revealed it).

"General Development owns St. Luci, near St. Petersburg, where Vice President Agnew played golf this summer," says Mrs. Moyer. Lots go for \$2,395 for less than one-fourth acre (\$300 down and \$30 a month) then "all the way up," she says.

Not all land developers sell house lots. Indian Acres International, a 750-acre campsite near Fredericksburg, Va., offers a place to throw your sleeping bag or tent for under \$1,000 (\$995).

Located on the Po River, with man-made lakes, swimming pools, stables and a Teepee Pavilion now under construction, it offers "Heap Big Fun. That's our motto," says 33-year-old James C. Foote, president of Chase Continental Corp. of Annadale, holding company for Indian Acres. Lots cost a minimum \$195 down, \$20 a month with \$48 a year dues, he says. "We're having a corn roast in November, 6000 ears of corn, come on down . . . we're in business to have fun, to have a good time."

Telephone solicitors, as a rule, have little time for direct mailers. "A person phoning, who has taken the time to call you, is one thing," says Mrs. Klein. "But mail coming into a house . . . is just a piece of paper."

The bulk mailers return the compliment. "You can say anything you want over the phone . . . there's a lot of misrepresenta-

tion . . . just fringe operators use it . . . it's unregulated," says Henry Pearlman, manager of the "nation's largest single source of lists," Dependable Mailing Lists, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW.

"The public has confidence in mail," he says. "It's controlled and the average person knows about the controls (laws against obscene mail and mail fraud)."

Like all salesmen, they both agree the public loves their products. "Most people enjoy getting direct mail," says Pearlman. "It's a highly sophisticated business now, often tied in with TV ads. And almost everything is sold through the mail, all the way down to peanuts . . . many people like peanuts."

Any restrictions on the right to send mail, junk or otherwise, "borders on restraint of trade and freedom of speech," declares John J. Daly. Anyway, "for most people receiving mail is a status symbol," he explains. "They want to get it."

He and Pearlman—broker for 15,000 mailing lists and 200 million names—believe strongly in the legitimacy of mailing lists and in the public's right to receive junk mail.

How can anyone protest the sale of his name, wonders Pearlman, when "a name is usually public property."

The few who do protest, however, can do little to remove their names from lists. They can write junk mail and phone solicitors and ask their names be removed, which may or may not help, and they can change their telephone number and ask for an unlisted number (not published in the white pages but still appearing in the commercial Street Address directory) or an unpublished number (theoretically not available anywhere).

The phone company does not encourage this as 141,000 area phones—15 per cent of Metropolitan Washington's 950,000 phones—are already unlisted or unpublished. It means more work for operators and problems for those who cannot reach friends' unpublished numbers.

Nonetheless, 57,000 new families have requested such phones in the past six years.

If families are harassed continually by one caller or receive obscene calls, the phone company can step in with detection devices to help identify the caller—who can then be prosecuted under the 1968 Federal abusive phone call act (it applies only in the District and across State lines).

One unusual approach to stopping junk mail is to claim it is obscene. In September, Wilber F. Lawrence, assistant general counsel for the Post Office, ruled that obscenity was in the eye of the beholder and a resident could claim all his junk mail obscene and have such mail stopped.

"Most people gripe about junk mail but don't do anything about it. But under the law, they can declare that an ad for a sack of potatoes looks sexy to them. And, if they do, we're obliged to act," Lawrence said.

Ultimately, the easiest method of disposing of junk mail and telephone calls and the one recommended by the Better Business Bureau, telephone companies, public officials and even solicitors (who are themselves bothered by solicitors) is to hang up the phone and throw out the mail.

That is seen as a negative approach by directory and mailing list men. They like to think of the good things that have come from their works.

One cites the extensive recalls of unsafe motor vehicles by Detroit auto manufacturers, all simplified by R. I. Polk's extensive lists of car owners.

John Nagy, general sales manager of Haines Criss Cross directory, remembers that Robert Kennedy "used our books" across the country in his 1968 Presidential mailing and phoning campaign.

Even Maryland's Ejner Johnson sees a somewhat patriotic duty to release his state's

list of motor vehicle owners, despite his reservations about invasion of privacy. "If we can develop information that can be useful to industry in making proper corporate decisions, a legitimate concern of the State, all well and good."

But Nagy summed it up, perhaps even for the pregnant Capitol Hill wife—who will soon be receiving a rash of calls from diaper services and baby photographers—"Mail and phone solicitation have become a way of life."

## FOOD IS REALLY A BARGAIN

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, being a farmer, I am naturally concerned every time I hear someone complaining about the high price of food because I know the prices we get for our produce is not high. It is still at depression-level lows.

The other day I read a column by Paul Harvey which explained very clearly what is happening to our household budgets.

I recommend reading this column to all of my colleagues, who, too, may be wondering about the high price of their grocery budget:

FOOD IS REALLY A BARGAIN!

(By Paul Harvey)

When peanut butter recently went to 71 cents a jar at the store where the Harveys shop for groceries, Mr. Harvey became borderline indignant: "What are they trying to do to us!"

But before I could launch a proper tirade against the peanut-butter people, I heard from a housewife in Glidden, Iowa, Mrs. Frank West.

She made her food budget of 1960 and her more recent one available to the Des Moines Register. And Mrs. West just about has me convinced that food is not more expensive now than then. Let's hear her out:

Recently Mrs. West ran out the supermarket's cash register tape seeking to ascertain why such a small number of purchases came to more than \$24 and she discovered that much of what she is now buying at the grocery store is not groceries.

There are paper towels and paper napkins, \$1.66. In the old days Mrs. West and the Harveys and you took time to home launder and re-use cloth towels and napkins.

Here's 59 cents for dog food. In the old days, Rover used to eat table scraps.

\$1.79 for bug spray to execute what we used to swat.

89 cents for fabric softener where we formerly depended on a windy day.

\$1.59 for shampoo and Band-aids. In 1960 some of us were shampooing with soap and bandaging with strips of worn-out shirt.

\$3.75 for light bulbs and Thermos bottle; items which formerly showed up on the "hardware" bill.

We've been complaining about the high cost of eating at home when many or most of the items which we pay for at the grocery store are inedible.

Mrs. West discovered that, of her \$24 grocery bill, groceries cost less than \$16.

Adding the Harveys' experience to hers and dividing by two, I was similarly surprised to see that fully one-fifth of the floor space in a supermarket is occupied by luxury or prepared foods which were unavailable 10 years ago.

Two-fifths of the store is likely filled with nonfood items.

That leaves only two-fifths of the grocery store displaying plain old foods.

It may be that you do not use frozen foods or TV dinners or other pre-prepared items, but most housewives now do.

And the grocery list is likely to include snacks and pop and candy, too.

Some have been charging to "the exorbitantly high cost of groceries" such things as liquor and beer, seltzers and toothpaste, magazines and cosmetics, kitchen gadgets, even some dishes and nylon stockings.

Anyway, Mrs. West, who has kept categorized records, discovered that her food bill for 1960 was \$971.57. Household items that year came to \$347.98.

This past year she paid only \$3 more for food. For household items, she paid \$725.82!

#### NEWSLETTER

### HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in order that those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will have an opportunity to review the newsletter I send to my constituents I am inserting it in the RECORD at this point:

U.S. CONGRESSMAN FLETCHER THOMPSON  
REPORTS TO YOU

DEAR FRIEND:

Holidays approaching: Christmas is almost here and your Congressman longs to spend the season back home . . . but work of Congress continues, with occasional snow on the ground (see photo). (Photo not reproduced in RECORD.) Hopefully, we will recess by the 23rd of December . . . and be home for Christmas . . . and New Year's.

Why the long session: Nixon is first President in 120 years to take office with Congress controlled by opposite party. Delay in legislation has political overtones. Example: Fiscal year began July 1 but by December 1 only 4 of 13 appropriations bill had been sent to President. Some think this embarrasses the President. I believe it points out the foot-dragging tactics of Democrat committee chairmen trying to embarrass the President . . . but it won't work.

911 progress: Serious study is now being given to my bill to establish 911 as single national emergency telephone number. Through Justice Dept. grant, six pilot areas including Atlanta has been visited to evaluate feasibility of project. Strong backing from WQXI-TV who promoted idea, helps chances. If this becomes reality, you could reach any emergency service—fire, police, ambulance, etc.—by calling this number.

Rewarding work: Though a Congressman's prime duty is studying, proposing and voting on legislation, his most rewarding work is helping individuals who have problems involving federal agencies. Some victories we've won for you in 1969 were . . . getting badly wounded Vietnam veteran's disability rating upped from 70% to 80% . . . helping destitute wife qualify for over \$4,000 in back Social Security benefits . . . obtaining compassionate leave for soldier with fatally ill mother . . . assisting disabled WW II vet with increased VA benefits and \$2,000 in back Social Security payments. All you need to do to get help is ask for it.

Who's helping you: We win cases like those above because of competent staff help. Our Washington staff pictured with me are, left to right, Mrs. Pat Baldus, caseworker; Miss LeAnn Henche, grant applications; Miss Paulette Charney, receptionist; Miss Trudy Steckbeck, legislative assistant; Miss Kit Tel-

fair, academics; Jim Sheldon, research assistant; and Richard Ashworth, Administrative Assistant. (Picture not reproduced in RECORD.)

My thanks . . . to the Air Line Dispatchers Association and the Americans for Constitutional Action for their recent awards honoring my service in Congress. Unanimous vote of Dispatchers giving me Honorary Membership for "outstanding contributions to advancement of Air Safety" . . . was first such award given a legislator in 30 years . . . ACA presented me Distinguished Service Award for 1969, a biennial award given to legislators whose voting records "serve to strengthen and defend spirit and principles of U.S. Constitution."

Stopping smut: Continuing to ignore items by Atlanta newspapers that my efforts to stop the flow of smut and filthy material into the District amounts to censorship, I am not deterred and will continue to fight this obscene material. It may take a constitutional amendment unless the Supreme Court loses its power to strike down lower court decisions banning pornographic films and literature . . . or Nixon appointees change court philosophy. You have a right not to have this material forced upon you against your will.

Atlanta staff: Left to right, Mrs. Connie Russell, stenographer; Mrs. Shirley Sutherland, receptionist; Knott Rice, field representative; Miss Susan Tucker, stenographer.

Freedom from force: To Americans, black or white, freedom is precious. The neighborhood school system is threatened with extinction because of bussing, pairing and closing of schools to force racial balance. Some Georgia Congressmen want me to do nothing but I believe you want something done. Below is a bill I am asking all Congressmen, black and white, from the North and the South to co-sponsor. Do you approve?

A bill to prohibit public officials from operating dual school systems, and from requiring racial balance in school systems, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Freedom From Force Act."

#### TITLE I—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SECTION 1. The right of elementary and secondary education students to attend their neighborhood schools shall not be abridged by any person or authority based upon the race, creed or color of the student.

Sec. 2. Each local "unitary school system" shall have the right to determine their own attendance zones without interference from Federal authority as long as they are reasonably drawn so as to serve the needs of the community and no effort is made by drawing such attendance zones to force a student to attend a particular school because of his race, creed or color.

Sec. 3. Each local "unitary school system" shall have the right to determine the placement of any new school or school facility without interference from Federal authority so long as the new school or facility is placed so as to reasonably serve the needs of the community and no effort is made through its placement to discriminate against any student or group of students based upon race, creed or color.

#### TITLE II—DEFINITIONS

SECTION 1. For purposes of this Act:

(1) The term "unitary school system" whenever applied to any school system receiving public support means a school system wherein all schools comprising the system function as a part of an overall single administrative unit and in which there is no force or discrimination present, based upon race, creed or color, in establishing the makeup of the student body, faculty or in the

allocation of funds, books and facilities to the respective schools.

(2) The term "dual school system" whenever applied to any school system receiving public support means any school system other than a unitary school system (as defined in subsection (1) of this section).

The term "pairing" whenever applied to any school or school system receiving public support means any act required by any governmental authority or person or board acting pursuant to such authority to cause the merger of schools or the alteration of the grade structure for the purpose of altering the race of ethnic make-up of the student body.

#### TITLE III—ILLEGAL ACTS

SEC. 1. (a) The operation of a dual school system shall be illegal.

(b) The pairing of schools shall be illegal.

(c) The closing of any school for the purpose of forcing any student into a different school so as to alter the racial or ethnic make-up of the student body shall be illegal.

(d) Forcing a child to leave his neighborhood school to attend another more distant because of his race, creed or color shall be illegal.

#### TITLE IV—PENALTIES

SEC. 1. Any person who violates section 1 of title III of this Act shall be subject to be imprisoned for not more than one year, or fined not more than \$1,000, or both.

(Mail to: 514 Cannon Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.)

Do you favor:

1. Bussing and closing of schools (356 closed so far) to force racial balance in the schools?

Yes ----- [ ]  
No ----- [ ]  
Undecided ----- [ ]

2. "Freedom From Force" bill above which your Congressman is trying to get passed?

Yes ----- [ ]  
No ----- [ ]  
Undecided ----- [ ]

Remarks:

Name -----  
Address -----  
City ----- Zip Code -----

It is a high honor for me to serve you in Congress.

Yours very truly,

FLETCHER THOMPSON,  
Member of Congress.

(NOTE.—Printing and paper paid for by your donations sent in and by myself.)

#### THE MISUNDERSTOOD MINORITY

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Daily News, in its December 2 edition, carried an excellent article by Rev. Andrew M. Greenley which captures in great depth the problems and attitudes of America's ethnic communities.

The Daily News is to be commended for its daily feature, "Insight," which provides an outstanding forum for discussion of the Nation's and the world's most pressing problems.

The problem of the Nation's ethnic communities is one which has been ignored much too long.

Reverend Greeley is a Roman Catholic priest and program director of the Uni-



versity of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center. He is a professor of sociology of education at the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

He has conducted very extensive research into the hopes, the aspirations, the fears, the insecurity and isolation of the white ethnics and has concluded that this subject needs a national dialog for thorough understanding.

I am placing into the RECORD today Reverend Greeley's excellent analyses and take this opportunity to congratulate the Chicago Daily News for making possible the beginning of what I believe will become a nationwide dialog on the misunderstood minority.

Reverend Greeley's article follows:

**THE MISUNDERSTOOD MINORITY—FEAR, INSECURITY AND ISOLATION OF THE WHITE ETHNIC NEEDS MORE ATTENTION, A DISTINGUISHED SOCIOLOGIST SAYS**

(By Rev. Andrew M. Greeley)

White ethnics are America's not-so-silent minority.

Their voices have been raised on the nation's most nagging problems, from public schools to foreign policy.

Their neighborhoods have been described as citadels of parochialism, marked by invisible boundaries of anger against outsiders.

The ethnic has been tagged with the image of national pride and racial prejudice.

Yet despite the conspicuous visibility of the white ethnic—and he will not melt mildly away into the American "mainstream"—he is only imperfectly understood.

There is, especially on the part of political, social and intellectual elites, a strong element of snobbery and even disdain toward white ethnic groups.

The liberal elite, in particular, often dismiss this larger part of our population with the sneer "white ethnic racist," a term as pejorative as "nigger."

The state of our knowledge about the present condition and the past social history of American ethnic immigrant groups is astonishingly bad. Sociologists have taken ethnicity so much for granted that they have barely bothered to study it.

The view that follows is an attempt to get inside the skin of a white ethnic, to analyze and explain, not to argue or advocate.

We should realize first that it is no longer appropriate to write off white ethnics as being "poor" or "working class."

Some white ethnics are indeed poor, although they are a small minority; others are indeed members of the working class. Nevertheless, many white ethnics, particularly in large cities, are college-educated, and many more have children going to college.

Some are firmly established in what may be considered, by anyone's standards, the upper middle class.

Whatever their ranking on the social scale, white ethnics are not far removed from their immigrant experience. A few years ago half the adult Catholics in the country—and most urban ethnics are Catholic—were either immigrants or the children of immigrants.

#### INSECURE ECONOMICALLY

Ethnics are well aware of, and indeed proud of, the fact that they are "different" from the rest of American society. At the same time, they hold a powerful loyalty to the United States while not being sure they are accepted by the United States.

In addition to feeling the social insecurity that comes from being relatively close to the immigration experience, ethnics also tend to be economically insecure.

The State income taxes being adopted around the country tend to fall hardest on the lower, middle and working classes. Given the fact that a great deal of tax money is go-

ing into welfare programs, it seems understandable that ethnics feel they are being taxed more heavily to subsidize other social groups.

They will argue that no such subsidies ever were offered to them.

The white ethnic's commitment to his family, home and neighborhood is profound in a way few who are part of the more cosmopolitan elite understand.

Any threat to home and neighborhood is a threat to the very core of the white ethnic's personality.

#### NEIGHBORHOOD PROTECTED

But in addition to having invested himself in his home and neighborhood, the ethnic also has invested a good portion of his economic resources. Given the feeling of financial insecurity that is still very much with him, a threat to this home and neighborhood is a threat of destruction.

It is extraordinarily difficult to persuade such a man that the arrival of other social groups in his neighborhood is not a threat.

We may tell him it is "block busters" who create panic. We may tell him that careful studies show that over the long run property values go up, not down, after blacks move in. We may even tell him statistics show only a slight increase in crime at the first sign of black in-migration.

The white ethnic may or may not believe such statements, but it does not matter. For him they are irrelevant. By any realistic standard he knows, the arrival of other groups in his neighborhood is a threat.

It always has seemed to me that the failure of the liberal elite to understand this reaction, much less to have compassion for it, is the greatest single evidence of snobishness toward white ethnics.

I do not pretend to know how the problem of changing neighborhoods can be resolved, but I am appalled at the thought it is so casually dismissed as a manifestation of white ethnic racism.

It seems to me that much of the rhetoric of social reform not only is lost on white ethnics. It actually creates a greater sense of alienation and confusion among them.

#### FLIGHT OF BLACKS

We must remember that these groups are only a generation or two removed from the Old World. To be told that they are responsible, or ought to feel guilty, for the plight of blacks puzzles them.

It was not their ancestors who brought black slaves to this country. It was not their ancestors who kept blacks enslaved until a century ago. It was not their ancestors who arranged the national compromise whereby slavery was replaced by serfdom. It was not their ancestors who enacted the Jim Crow laws. It was not their ancestors who imported blacks to the big cities as cheap labor.

They may not like blacks—they may fear them—but it seems to the ethnic groups that they are being asked to pay the heaviest price for social wrongs for which they have little responsibility.

Furthermore, the white ethnics are close enough to their own immigrant poverty to realize that reform groups were not particularly concerned about them.

No one ever worried about the Polish poor or the Irish poor, and no one seems to worry much now about the residual poverty groups in both these populations.

Unless we understand that many white ethnics think this way with some justification, and that their feelings represent an important dimension of social reality, we shall never come to grips with the problem of unity in our big cities.

#### LAW AND ORDER

Another issue on which the voice of the white ethnic has been heard is "law and order."

White ethnics are afraid of violence. There

was much of it in their own past, both here and in Europe. They have worked hard to achieve economic and social security. They now have much more to lose by violence than they did in the past.

We may argue that threats by militants to burn down the city or engage in guerrilla warfare in the streets are meant mainly for internal consumption.

But when someone postures like Mussolini on television and warns that he is going \* \* \* destroy a city, white ethnics are quite prepared to take him at his word.

There are many responses we have offered to the law-and-order issue, all of them patently inadequate.

We have argued that the nation has a violent past. We have pointed out that violence is done daily to the black population. We have said so-called crime waves are exaggerated, and indicated many weaknesses in uniform crime statistics.

All of these arguments are quite correct, but they will do nothing to lessen the fear of violence among white ethnics. Nor does the tendency of the liberal elite to make scapegoats of the police lessen their fears.

The failure of the elites to understand the relevance of the law-and-order issue has been a disastrous political and social mistake. By denying the problem, they have turned its solution over to demagogues, and failed themselves to make much in the way of intelligent solution to the problem.

It ought to have been the function of the liberal elite to stress these points rather than to leave the field to those who think law and order can be achieved simply by "cracking down."

White ethnics are deeply committed to American society. While society may not have completely accepted them, the ethnics are close enough in memory to the poverty and tyranny of their own pasts to be grateful to a nation that has provided them both affluence and political freedom.

#### STUDENT PROTESTS

They are thus, for instance, completely incapable of understanding student protesters.

From the white ethnic viewpoint, the students are much worse than the blacks because the blacks at least have "real problems" to protest. But the students have no problems, in their view, and simply are spoiled children of the rich.

When the ethnic stops to think about it, he also is inclined to argue that these are the children of the elite group that are demanding that the ethnics yield their neighborhoods to blacks and pay higher taxes to support black "attacks" on their neighborhoods and cities.

This makes them even more angry at the students, and less likely to understand legitimate grievances.

While there are few things more valued by ethnics than a college education, there are few things they suspect more than intellectualism. In this they are not so different from the rest of society.

The moral and intellectual arrogance of university faculties and students as displayed in the mass media merely confirms what the ethnic thought all along—education doesn't guarantee that professors have much common sense.

The white ethnic also is concerned deeply about primary and secondary education.

He assumes, with little justification, that the increase in costs and deterioration in quality is related to the presence of large numbers of blacks in the public school system—blacks who appear to him more interested in protesting or demonstrating or engaging in vandalism than in getting an education.

It is all well and good for the suburban liberal elite to talk about integrating the school system, for he can send his children to suburban or private schools.

Once again, the elite appears to the ethnics to be bent on improving the lot of the blacks at no cost to themselves and a considerable cost to the white ethnics.

#### ISOLATION INCREASES

There are, of course, many holes in this line of argument. Yet, if we cannot understand why ethnics might think this way, we miss the whole point of the present crisis of unity in the cities.

Finally, we should notice that ethnics find themselves increasingly isolated from their own political leadership.

In cities like Chicago, where precinct organizations still maintain some communication between the grass roots and city hall, the problem is less acute than it is in cities where so-called "good government" has cut off the liberal elites who run the city from the ethnic hinterlands.

But even in cities where ethnic politics is still a way of life, the alienation of white ethnics from their leadership is growing. The leadership is forced to fall back on experts and technicians for solutions to grave social problems, and it is precisely these experts who arouse deep suspicions among the ethnics.

In summary, white ethnics in the large cities are afraid. They are afraid of what will happen to their neighborhoods, they are afraid of violence and of higher taxes and of black militants and of experts and of liberal do-gooders and of being left out by those who have real power in society.

They are wrong, one might say, but they don't think they are wrong. And it must be confessed the rest of us have done precious little to convince them that they are wrong.

It will not help to lecture them about their prejudices, or to demand of their religious organizations that they campaign against prejudice. It will do no good to moralize, to pontificate, to lecture or to blame.

#### DEMAND FOR DESTINY

We must first seek to understand, although whether we have the patience and the tact and the compassion to do so is open to serious question.

We must also realize that the desire to participate, to have some control over one's destiny, is every bit as legitimate when it is manifested by one social group as it is when manifested by others.

If demands for black power and student power are valid—despite the distortions and paranoia that sometimes accompany such demands—then are not the demands of ethnic groups for more control over their own destiny also valid, despite the bigoted and paranoid distortions that sometimes accompany them?

### SOKOLS HONOR "POP" ZABRANSKY

#### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, last year the Little Ferry Sokol organization celebrated the 70th anniversary of its existence, and it still continues to instill the spirit of its objectives into the Little Ferry community.

One of the principal organizers of the Little Ferry Sokols was William Zabransky, Jr., affectionately known as "Pop."

Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to be in attendance at the banquet which honored "Pop" for his constructive and valuable services in its primary objectives, that of promoting physical education and

gymnastics among the Czechs and Slovaks of this country.

The constructive services of "Pop" Zabransky could just as well have been a reason for the community of Little Ferry in honoring this man as a cornerstone in the incorporation of the borough 75 years ago, and his continued interest in the civic and community affairs of Little Ferry.

"Pop" Zabransky numbers his friends by the thousands, for he has always been available to participate in any community function which younger persons were unwilling to tackle.

A happy person, "Pop" Zabransky has been an inspiration to the borough of Little Ferry. He mixes well among those he serves and meets. He is one of tremendous courage. He listens with interest. He likes to converse, to laugh, to assist, to encourage, to suggest, and to receive suggestions. At 81 he still has a magnetic personality. He has the ability to bring people close to him and leave them feeling at ease, comfortable, and happy in his presence. He is a man of impeccable character, of scrupulous dealings, of courteous manners, and of a humble spirit. He is always smiling and pleasant. He is a friend of all, and an enemy of none.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I would like to include an article which appeared in the Sunday Record Call of November 30, 1969, and reflects Mr. Zabransky's activities in Little Ferry.

The article follows:

[From the Sunday Record Call, Nov. 30, 1969]

LITTLE FERRY HONORS ITS REVERED PATRIARCH

(By John Walker)

LITTLE FERRY.—It was a long time coming, but never in doubt as the American Sokol Organization of Little Ferry honored William Zabransky, Jr., at a testimonial dinner at Sokol Hall last night.

Pop Zabransky, as he is known throughout the borough, has been a resident since the borough's incorporation 75 years ago, and a member of Sokol since its backyard borough beginnings in 1896, all of which make him the community's most senior of citizens.

Although it is Sokol that honored him, it may as well have been the community fathers themselves. Many of whom are members of the organization that began in Czechoslovakia over 100 years ago.

Regarded as the borough patriarch, Zabransky has always been an active participant in community affairs, and his 81 years have not prevented his regular attendance at borough council meetings.

"I was a pretty fair gymnast in my young days with Sokol," says Zabransky, who attributes not only his physical health, but his spiritual and moral well-being to the optimistic philosophy of the organization.

Conversing with Zabransky is like perusing a volume of historical highlights of the borough. He has a huge collection of photographs and a little nostalgia for the old days, both of which add up the color of his stories about the borough's great historical tradition.

"It was once the site of an Indian massacre," he says of the community, "and later a haven for George Washington's troops, and finally (in his childhood) just a nice pleasant place to live."

From his own accounts, it seems that Zabransky grew up alongside and within most of the borough's organizations, and his name is no doubt a household word for residents.

Having been more notably a past president of the Community Savings and Loan, Chief

of the Fire Department and a member for 61 years, and president of the school board, Zabransky has given two sons, six grandchildren, and 15 great grandchildren to the borough, many of whom have served, or may serve, as borough officials.

Zabransky is also a pretty fair country plumber, having begun his own business at age 19 and built it into one of the largest in Northern New Jersey. His experience got him a job making installations on battleships and destroyers during World War I for the Steam Engineering Dept. of the U.S. Navy at their yard in his native Brooklyn.

While he has adopted Little Ferry as his home, Zabransky has never forgotten his European origin. He and his wife and two sons took part in the 100th Anniversary of the Sokol held in Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1932, one of four times he has visited the country as a representative of the organization.

A treasurehouse of memories, Zabransky is proud of the tradition of his family and his community.

He will recount tales of the old savings and loan which did not cost its shareholders a penny during the Depression; of the great fire of 1937, which he recorded on film; and of countless borough celebrations up to the 70th Anniversary, when he was chairman of the Tercentenary Committee, a most fitting task for a man as long-lived as the community itself.

### MINNESOTA'S GOVERNOR OPPOSES THE MURPHY AMENDMENT, SUPPORTS THE ADMINISTRATION'S POVERTY BILL

#### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, strong bipartisan support is developing for a simple 2-year extension of the Economic Opportunity Act. In the House, Members on both sides of the aisle are working to see that the poverty program is not crippled when the OEO bill supported by the administration, H.R. 12321, reaches the floor later this week.

Many State and local officials share our concern about the need to maintain the independence of the legal services program and the other important antipoverty activities authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act. Recently, the Governor of Minnesota, Harold LeVander, wrote to me expressing opposition to the Murphy amendment and support for the administration's bill. I am inserting Governor LeVander's letter in the Record at this point:

STATE OF MINNESOTA,

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,

St. Paul, Minn., December 1, 1969.

Hon. DONALD M. FRASER,  
U.S. Congressman,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FRASER: As Governor of Minnesota and one whose power would be extended by the Senate passed amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act, I wish to declare my opposition to the "Murphy Amendment" that would limit the OEO Legal Services program.

While I support Congressional attempts to gain greater State involvement and authority in the conduct of OEO poverty programs, I do not believe that giving state governors



a veto over the Legal Services would be wise and fair action.

It is my belief that states should be concerned and involved to a greater extent in assuring proper conduct in Community Action and other OEO programs. But, we must, at the same time, assure the poor and those working on behalf of the poor in our nation, that they have access to the legal process. Only through an unfettered Legal Services program can this assurance be given.

Public officials must not be in a position where legal recourse can be denied any of our citizens—rich or poor!

I urge that the House action be in favor of retaining an effective program of Legal Services, so that all citizens may have confidence in our legal institutions, and turn to the courts, rather than the streets, for the resolution of disputes.

I support with great enthusiasm the President's proposal for a two-year extension of the Economic Opportunity Act without crippling amendments.

Sincerely,

HAROLD LEVANDER,  
Governor.

### THE PACIFIC ISLANDERS AND THEIR LAND

**HON. PATSY T. MINK**

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, December 9, 1969*

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, as the United States examines and redefines its role in the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, it is vital that we meet the responsibilities conferred upon us in trust by following an equitable land policy in the Pacific Islands.

Ownership of land is the very basis of the community and peer relationship in the trust territory. It is, therefore, vital we do absolutely the least necessary to disturb this factor in their social relationship. Therefore, our Government should avoid ownership of land in Micronesia and should instead arrange only leases for whatever land is required. The lease should provide rental payments which reflect this intrinsic value to the owners.

Mr. Frank E. Midkiff, who served as high commissioner of the trust territory is author of an essay, "The Pacific Islanders and Their Land," which was presented before the Social Science Association in Honolulu, Hawaii, on November 7, 1955. Because of its prophetic nature, and because Mr. Midkiff's views coincide with my own, I am pleased to present the essay at this point in the RECORD:

#### THE PACIFIC ISLANDERS AND THEIR LAND (By Frank E. Midkiff)

It has been said that what a man sees is back of his eye. Certainly the attitudes of a man from the Middle West or the Great Plains of America transplanted to a small Pacific Island, are markedly different from the attitudes of the native of that little island toward the land of his atoll.

In our great country of America, we have had the habit of thinking that there is an enormous quantity of land awaiting occupation. We recall the settlement of the great homestead areas of Oklahoma. We think of the vast stretches of prairies where for mile

after mile we see no human being. This tends to color our thinking toward the value and availability of land. Our American continent really is vast, and certainly it seems big to a Pacific Islander.

For on the small Islands of the Pacific, for the most part, land has been occupied for generations just about to the extent of its ability to sustain human life.

There are atolls where the economy is a subsistence economy based upon the coconut, together with taro in most areas, and the fish and sea plants of the lagoon. These atolls have been inhabited for centuries and are fairly crowded with coconut trees. They have a very thin lens of fresh water under them, adequate to permit the growth of coconuts and usually some taro, but in many cases not permitting growth of breadfruit trees or many other types of plants and vegetables. And although actually there may have been no institutionalized infanticide, the practical results were not far from institutionalized customs of population control. The older people succumbed through lack of food and care in many cases, and the infant death rate was exceedingly high.

Since the advent of modern medicine and improved public health practices throughout the Pacific Islands, the population increase has become alarming. It is estimated that the population, now somewhat in excess of 50,000 people in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, exclusive of the Marianas, will be doubled by 1970 if continued at the present rate of increase. It is recognized that such an increase of population will be beyond the competence of many of the atolls to support. Land already is exceedingly scarce throughout the Trust Territory; and the problems of providing habitations and livelihood for the increasing population, emphasize to a distressing degree the value of land on the Pacific Islands.

*Alienation of Title:* Land is so limited and so basic to the entire society of the Pacific Islands that a man or a family or extended family, tribe or clan without land is simply a man or family "without a country." If his land is lost, his status is lost. The title which he has acquired by inheritance or otherwise is based upon and associated with the land which he has occupied, used and owned for many generations. He may be separated from the land temporarily and still retain his authority and the status of his family; but if he loses title to his land, he loses his "mana" or his authority or spirit and is without importance amongst other members of the area. This is true generally in Micronesia, although in the Saipan District the old land customs have become lost sight of to a large extent, and the Chamorros as a people are unstable because of it.

*The Case of the Land of the Hawaiians:* In accordance with ancient custom, title to all the land of the Kingdom was vested in Kamehameha I, the highest chief, or the "King", as he conquered and brought all the islands under his control. This was similar to our "Spoils System"; it followed a King's conquest.

The King, while still himself owning all land permitted very high chiefs on each island to retain, at the King's pleasure, possession and use of all the ahupuaas, or large divisions of the lands on such respective island.

A particularly competent chief of the island—or, island "Governor"—looked after the King's interest on each island and, in the name of the King, permitted high chiefs under him to occupy ahupuaas of land with their prerogatives; and they in turn permitted lesser chiefs (Konohikis) to occupy and use smaller areas (ilis, leles).

In turn, the lesser chiefs permitted small holdings of land—Kuleanas—by commoners and their families.

All such holdings were occupied at the pleasure of the next higher echelon of chiefs

right on up finally to the King, the owner of all lands, and made the holder subject to annual hookupus, or taxes, and to provision of soldiery in case of war. As long as these dues were forthcoming, title and area occupancy were undisturbed; failing such, a new occupant was moved in. This, in oversimplification, was the old Hawaiian system of land tenure.

The business elements of Hawaii, being non-Hawaiians, were endeavoring long prior to the middle of the last century to produce a reliable export commodity to exchange for imported goods and equipment that would raise the standards of living above the mere subsistence level.

Sugar began to be milled in a small way, and was regarded as the most promising export possibility.

In order to set up expensive mills, plants, and other improvements, these entrepreneurs desired assurance of permanent land holdings for sites, so that after making large investments they could not be dispossessed by a whimsical chief.

They finally persuaded the King of Hawaii, a lineal successor to Kamehameha the Great, in 1848 to divide the lands so that title could be acquired in fee.

This was known as "The Great Mahele."

King Kamehameha III surrendered his feudal rights, and gave permanent title to large land divisions over to various chiefs.

At about the same time, and in part out of the personal lands held by King Kamehameha III, he set aside a substantial portion of land for the Government. These were the beginning of the "government lands." What he personally retained were known as "crown lands." In a similar manner, many other chiefs surrendered portions of their land to the government, thus further building up the "government lands"; in turn these chiefs were rewarded with clear titles to the remainder of their holdings.

Based on the Land Act of 1845, the great divisions held by the highest chiefs were to be divided in "The Great Mahele" for fee simple ownership amongst lesser chiefs who had been in possession of and using, these divisions. These were called "Konohiki lands." In turn, these chiefs were to provide smaller holdings of land—called Kuleanas—for fee simple ownership of the commoners who were in occupation at the time. Kuleanas also were provided for the commoners both from "crown" lands and from lands set aside as government lands. A law soon was passed permitting government lands to be sold to commoners at a low price.

Summarizing, in addition to the one third of all the land held personally by the King as "crown lands", there were two further parts: theoretically, one-third of the land was "government lands," to support the government of the Kingdom. Another third was to be divided amongst, and shared by, the chiefs or Konohikis—the "Konohiki lands." In each third there were to be areas set aside for the commoners. Appurtenant water rights went with the land titles.

However, through lack of understanding and default, the commoners actually acquired title to much less than a third of the total area, and what they failed to acquire was added as a general rule to the government lands although in many cases Kuleanas within a chief's ahupuaa escheated to the chief if the commoner did not prove up on his title. The government, therefore, at one time after "The Great Mahele", had ownership of more than 50 per cent of all the land in the Kingdom of Hawaii.

*Alienation of the Hawaiians' Land:* Somewhat later another law was passed permitting "alienation" of the Hawaiians' lands; i.e., permitting foreigners also to purchase and acquire title to lands.

About as soon as the Hawaiian individuals realized that they owned land and themselves could convert it into cash, most of

them sold it. Not very many actually kept their land. Selling land was a novel idea to the Hawaiians. Probably at the time of sale they had no true realization that they were to lose the right at a future time again to occupy and use it.

Having sold the land, they usually came to the seaport towns.

The Malihini (newcomer), according to foreign law, English common law, but not Hawaiian custom, had acquired ownership of the land, and availed himself of the opportunity after 1903 to secure a Land Court Award for the title, and held on to it.

The Hawaiian People learned the value of land the hard way. In general, the Hawaiians became a landless people with neither title to, nor occupancy and use of, lands that from time immemorial had been solely theirs to use and occupy.

However, there were exceptions:

**First:** A few commoners held on to their Kuleanas. These Hawaiians highly prized their Kuleanas and some do so to this day. There originally were about 13,000 awards of small Kuleanas but it is believed there may be less than a tenth of these held by Hawaiians today. Nearly all the Kuleanas that were good for sugar cane or agriculture or for city residences have been sold.

To show the extent of change today, there are around 7,000 purchasers of fee simple property each year. There are now over 65,000 owners of fee simple land in Hawaii, averaging around 6.8 acres each. However, most of the land purchased today is of house lot size. Most of the nearly 65,000 holders of small sized parcels in the Territory are non-Hawaiians.

**Second:** There are also eight landed charitable trusts—such as the Bernice P. Bishop Estate, which was the land of the Kamehameha chiefs and which is the endowment of the Kamehameha Schools for Hawaiian boys and girls. Other charitable landed trusts include the Zion Securities Company, whose beneficiary is the Mormon Stake in Hawaii; the Queen's Hospital Trust and the Queen Emma Estate, endowment of the Queen's Hospital; and the Roman Catholic Church lands.

These charitable trusts are perpetual trusts, and their income is used for public

benefit. They are conservatively but efficiently managed, so as to increase the wealth and standards of living of the Territory as a whole. Eight such charitable trusts total 407,742 acres or 9.9 percent of the total land of the Territory.

There were other charitable trust estates such as the Lunallilo Trust for Aged Hawaiians created by Hawaiian chiefs, that originally were landed estates. However, these trusts converted their land holdings into so-called "gilt edge" securities long ago; thereupon they ceased to grow, but remained static as to the value of their corpus and today are very small estates.

**Third:** Several newcomers with business experience, had married Hawaiian chiefesses or landed women. Having seen how the Hawaiians were disposing of their lands and losing their heritage these men created trust estates, setting the land areas owned by their wives in trust as the corpus of such estates.

These private trust estates, by Hawaiian law, may continue for the life of the last beneficiary in being at the time of the death of the testator, plus 21 years.

**What has Happened to the Chiefs' Lands?** Of all the 252 chiefs acquiring title to "Konohiki" land under the Great Mahele, there now remain 24 substantial private landed trust estates owned by descendants of the Hawaiian chiefs, and they control about 9.4% of all the land of the Territory or around 387,000 acres.

Eight others of the chiefs set aside their Konohiki lands as charitable trust estates—now 9.9%.

As to other large land ownerships, 47 American corporations have acquired large land holdings totaling 18.6% or 768,000 of the Territory's acres. These holdings for the most part originally were "Konohiki lands" but they also included thousands of Kuleanas of the commoners.

Thirty-three non-Hawaiian individuals are "large" land owners (that is each owns over 600 acres) and control about 12% or around 496,000 acres of the Territory's land. These lands also originally were "Konohiki lands" plus Kuleanas. These holdings by foreigners contrast with the 9.4% held by the private Hawaiian Trust estates.

#### SUMMARY OF LARGE LAND HOLDINGS IN HAWAII TODAY

(These lands were very largely Konohiki and "Crown" Lands.)

There is shown below a summary of lands in excess of 600 acres each. The owners may be grouped as follows:

	Number	Acreage	Percent of total of territorial land
1. American corporations.....	47	768,211	18.652
2. Caucasians: Individuals and C. trust estates.....	21	414,824	10.072
3. Charitable trusts.....	8	407,742	9.900
4. Private Hawaiian trusts.....	24	387,285	9.403
5. Chinese landowners.....	6	62,370	1.514
6. Japanese landowners.....	3	14,591	0.354
7. Portuguese landowners.....	3	4,640	.113
Total.....	112	2,059,663	50.008

Combining all the foregoing, we see there are 112 so-called large land owners in the Territory, each of whose land holdings is in excess of 600 acres, and whose total acreage is about 50 per cent of the total or 2,059,663 acres.

This is in contrast with the 65,000 small land holders in Hawaii today, who won an average of 6.8 acres each. And relatively few of these small holders are Hawaiians. Most of the small holdings also have been alienated.

#### GOVERNMENT LANDS

A fairly recent summary showed about 303,536 acres, or 7.4 per cent of the total acre of Hawaii is held by the Federal Government, and about 1,267,576 acres or 30.8 per cent of the total 4,118,600 acres is held by the Territorial and City-County Governments. In other words, 38.2 per cent of all land in Hawaii is held and owned by the government.

In the days before the foreigners came, the land was held in feudal title by the King and the chiefs for the Hawaiians alone.

#### OWNERSHIP OF LANDS OF HAWAII AT VARIOUS PERIODS

Period	King's land or crown land	Konohiki or chief's land	Government lands	Commoner's land
I. Prior to Great Mahele in 1848.	Title to the total lands of Hawaii was vested to the king.	Land for the chiefs was occupied at will of the king.		Occupied at the will of the chiefs or King.
II. Just following the Great Mahele.	$\frac{1}{2}$ of total lands were crown lands to support the crown.	$\frac{1}{2}$ of total lands were chief's or Konohiki lands. These included the lands awarded to the Kamehamehas and their close kin personally as chiefs.	$\frac{1}{2}$ of total lands were government lands.	Commoners were to be given the Kuleanas they occupied—whether from crown lands, Konohiki lands, or government lands.
III. A few years after the Mahele.	Reduces to about $\frac{1}{2}$ of total lands, due to king's selling of crown lands to pay their personal debts, etc.	About $\frac{1}{2}$ of total lands remained in possession of the chiefs.	About $\frac{1}{2}$ of total lands.....	About $\frac{1}{2}$ of total lands, a decrease from the intended $\frac{1}{2}$ , due to defaulting.
IV. Present day.....	Upon creation of the Republic, all crown lands passed to the government. This was the case with the success or territorial government at annexation. Former crown lands are now Government lands.	Over $\frac{1}{2}$ of total lands. About 9.9 percent of all lands are now Konohiki lands set aside as charitable trusts. About 9.403 percent total lands are now held by descendants of Hawaiian chiefs. About 31.197 percent of total lands (61 percent of the Konohiki lands) now are owned by aliens (non-Hawaiians) such as American corporations, Caucasians, Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese.	Approximately 38.2 percent of total lands. Over $\frac{1}{2}$ of all lands.	Approximately 11.79 percent of total lands or 487,225 acres are owned by nearly 65,000 small owners, very few of whom are Hawaiians. This percentage is increasing annually. Government lands and chief's lands are being subdivided and sold to small owners at the rate of several thousand lots each year.

#### RESULTS OF THE MAHELE IN HAWAII

The "Great Mahele" proved to be beneficial for the economy of Hawaii, and at the time was believed to be necessary in order to encourage foreign or "Malihini" investment. But the question, "Was it for the best interests of the Hawaiians as a people?" causes us to reflect. Hindsight shows losses amongst the gains even in the new type of Paradise that has developed in Hawaii since the Mahele.

Of course discussion of a *fait accompli* is largely only academic and probably is best left alone. Little can be done about it now.

In fact it is worse than pointless—it is destructive—to renew recriminations and arguments as to whether depriving the Hawaiians of their lands, or the American Indians of their lands, was very bad or not. There is much overall good that has resulted that it is unseemly to dwell on the losses and injuries.

Forced innovations amongst native peoples always cause changes. Adjustments are sometimes destructive. The advent of whalers and furriers in Hawaii, before the missionaries came, had a big part in the Hawaiians' loss of respect and fear of their dieties

and kapus. This led to a decree to destroy the idols and abandon the kapus. For a time the Hawaiians suffered a degenerating license and disregard of the controls evolved by them through the ages.

This status is hardly to be confused with our present day American ideals of independence and freedom. At any rate, soon after the loss of the ancient controls and the idols, the Hawaiians espoused Christianity and its new and noble forms of controls.

The great growth of America and a wonderful American way of life causes us to give no time to philosophic consideration of what



happened to the American Indian and his loss of land. In some cases, those Indians who have survived and who have not been incarcerated in strange reservations, have made fair adjustments to new ways and are modern Americans learning to get along with different customs and in the new environment. As the years go by, more will make the adjustment, ceasing to be "Indians" and becoming normal American citizens.

As to the Hawaiians and the effect of the Mahele upon them, one seldom hears this mentioned today or if the subject is brought up the response is usually only a silence followed by changing the subject. This is indicative of the fact that little or nothing can be gained now by discussing it. Here, too, the American way of life has resulted in wonderful development of the islands and the land that once all belonged to the Hawaiians.

One fact however "can be tied to," and in any discussion of the status of the Hawaiians it is worth stressing: There is one large landed estate that is conserved for the benefit of the aboriginal owners of these islands. This is the Bernice P. Bishop Estate, which today has around 370,000 acres or about 9.23% of the area of the Territory. This is the foundation of the Kamehameha Schools, soon to enroll 2000 Hawaiian children each year.

There are other lands made available for long term occupancy and use of the Hawaiian people through the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. These total 210,000 acres. Presently 54,000 acres are inhabited by 1621 Hawaiian families (10732 men, women and children). The remaining 156,000 acres are under lease to corporations or are waste lands, etc. Some of this Hawaiian Homes Commission land is fair to good agricultural land; some is homesites. Hawaiian Homes Commission lands are proving to be beneficial to an increasing number of pure Hawaiians and half-Hawaiians.

One lesson to be learned from the experience of the "Mahele."

It is fortunate that the Bishop Estate and the Hawaiian Homes lands exist. These provisions as a minimum should not be disturbed.

This is a fair and humane as well as practical conclusion to be drawn from the experiences of the Hawaiian People with the "Great Mahele." The Hawaiians on the average and as a general rule to date have not recovered from the cataclysmic changes wrought by loss of their lands, to the extent that they are equal in personal acquisitive powers to the more aggressive groups that have come to Hawaii in such large waves.

It is the basic desire of the Trustees of the Bernice P. Bishop Estate as rapidly as possible through the Kamehameha Schools education to aid the Hawaiian young people to hold their own with all other groups in all ways including home and land ownership, and that according to the American free enterprise system. But this is not going to be consummated in a year or a few years. It is a long evolutionary pull toward a new idea of land ownership.

Private land ownership and individual competitive activity for acquisition of land were entirely foreign to the Hawaiians' way of life, just as they are today amongst the other Islands of the Pacific. This was not true for the people of America, Asia, and Europe who have come to Hawaii since the Mahele. With these latter peoples, private land ownership was the rule from time immemorial.

In contrast with Hawaiian experience, land has never been alienated in Samoa because of the effect that alienation of land in Hawaii had upon the Hawaiian people. Similarly, it was decided that the Micronesians' land never should be alienated. This is an excellent basic principle and it is terrifyingly dangerous to consider the possibility ever to deviate from it.

While I was High Commissioner of the

Trust Territory, I had many requests from well-to-do people for Islands that they might purchase. They stated that they would like to live on an Island for a part of the year, to come in with their yachts, enjoy the beautiful weather, get acquainted with the people and they promised to try to benefit the people by their presence. I informed them that it would be impossible to sell the islands to aliens, that it is prohibited by the terms of the trusteeship agreement and that it would be a serious precedent to establish, separating the natives from the land which they hold so dearly.

#### ALIENATION OF LANDS OF OTHER PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Authorities who have appraised conditions throughout the islands of the Pacific, including Tasmania, Australia and New Zealand, are inclined to deplore the fact that the original owners and occupants of the land have been summarily dispossessed. One has said, "Throughout the more sordid chapters of modern Oceanic history events have shown all too clearly that, next to introducing epidemics into their midsts or putting shots into their bellies, the most effective way to destroy natives is to take away their lands. Land is far more than a source of subsistence to the Pacific Islanders. It is a fundamental of their social groupings, a measure of their status and self-esteem, and an ingredient of their spiritual lives. If a single criterion were to be used to test the survival value of any native community it would be: To what extent have they retained their lands?"

"No Oceanic areas have altogether escaped the aliens' quest for land, and in two cases, Australia and New Zealand, the colonists' greed for territory was the most characteristic and the most devastating feature of culture contact."

The appraisal goes on to show that very little consideration was given to the fate of the Australian aborigines in seizing their land and as a result these aborigines have almost disappeared except for some few thousands of scattered half castes and a few small groups or bands eking out meager existence over large unproductive areas. It is reported that thousands of the "abos" were exterminated when they attempted to kill or appropriate live stock pastured by the new settlers on the abos' horde territories. It is reported that there were systematic drives set up for the extermination of the aborigines in some cases. It is said that this tragedy was played to its finish in Tasmania. There the Tasmanian's land was taken and the people not only rendered landless but almost entirely exterminated. Doubtless there has been much exaggeration in such reporting but it is clear that the overall results have not been very favorable to those subject aboriginal people.

Conditions were not so bad in New Zealand, nevertheless I have often heard a former distinguished member of our association deplore the treatment the Maoris received at the hands of newcomers, and the resulting lack of status, and loss of spirit which followed dispossession of most of their lands—reportedly all but about 1/16 of their original holdings.

Where as the New Zealand colonial legislature expressed support for the Maori principle that regarded native land inalienable save by full tribal consent, it is stated that lawmakers devised sophistries that made it possible for individual Maoris to sell native land to the crown. This proceeded so far that the Maoris finally became disillusioned and angry, and they confederated themselves into a Kingdom—an entirely novel institution in native New Zealand—for defense of their property. Bloody Maori wars lasting for ten years were fought, which reduced the Maoris to a condition of abject misery. Three million acres of their remaining best lands are said to have been confiscated, and the Maori survivors were pushed back into un-

wanted and less desired corners or allowed to drift along, in the slums of the cities.

The fact that recently there has been a Maori revival is greatly to the credit of these people. For some decades Maori leaders have labored incessantly to revive their people's pride in their heritage and raise their status economically and politically. This has been of great value. According to students of the case, the future of the Maoris will depend to a large degree upon their ability to hold on to their main lands for without such lands the Maori people would be only Maori in the shape of their head and the color of their skin.

*Payment of Annual Rental Versus Eminent Domain for Lands Used for Public Purposes:* It is customary in lands using the basic concepts of English Common Law to acquire for public uses by the process of eminent domain any land that the government needs for administrative purposes. The fairness of eminent domain in our country is manifest, because the land is used for the benefit of the public in the first place and, in the second place, the payment for the land enables the man deprived of his land by eminent domain to buy land near to the land which he lost. In other words, there is ample land in our country to permit a subsequent land purchase, and the status and economy of the man whose land is taken is not materially effected adversely.

#### BUT IT IS DIFFERENT ON THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC

Conditions are very different in the small islands of the Pacific. Already land has become crowded. There is not enough for the needs of the people except on the areas in the high islands back from the sea, usually having serious slopes or gradients.

Homesteading will care for some displaced persons on the big islands of Ponape and Babelthap for a while, but not for long because most of these "high islands," like Oahu, must be kept as forest reserve.

Therefore, it is impossible, if land is taken away from a chief or his family or clan, for him to take the money he might receive pursuant to the use of eminent domain proceedings and go elsewhere and buy land so that his family will have status and be landed people.

Since the man's status derives to such a large extent from his land ownership—though he be removed from it for a time as for example by the use of his land by the government—if he still has title to the land and receives rental payments, he retains his status and is able to carry on his affairs according to the well-established customs of the islands.

#### A PROPOSED LAND POLICY FOR PACIFIC ISLANDS

I therefore propose for fullest consideration by our Government the following policy: In our Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, over which we are Trustees and of which islands we have renounced any intention of ownership or title acquisition through our successful World War II conquest, the system of annual rental payments should be followed, for land occupied and used by our Federal Government for administration or security purposes, and we should avoid depriving the people of Micronesia of their title to scant land areas by eminent domain procedures.

It is my belief that the adoption of the above policy would be wise and in the light of history would be appraised as a high example of Trusteeship, consonant with trends becoming evident in the world today. I believe this would be for the best interests of the people on our Trusteeship islands.

The annual amounts involved in such rental would be small.

Rental payments, not the use of our customary Western style eminent domain seem to me to be best in the Pacific Islands.

**Fair Values of Land:** It is almost impossible for one who is accustomed to the vast areas of the United States to appreciate the intrinsic value of the limited land in the small islands of the Pacific where the population is increasing very rapidly.

The population probably will double by 1970. The limited area of land, therefore, have to provide the food and the residential sites for all the people. This limited area is intensively agricultural but, far more than that, every habitable atoll is so crowded that the entire atoll and its islands are also *in fact* residential subdivisions. The population on many islands, therefore, has reached the point where the land is inadequate for the very life of the people, and every foot of it is both intensively agricultural and intensely residential.

As one reflects upon the Pacific Peoples, he recognizes that these islanders have existed on their home atolls and high islands for centuries. He knows that they have been war-like people, driven by the desperate necessities of existence, of confronting a merciless sea and typhoon weather, and that they have shed their blood to retain their precious islands and lagoons. He sees how the people have come to respect their chiefs who have shepherd and helped them defend themselves and their islands and have helped them conserve their limited food and water.

One then grasps the idea that these Pacific isles are far more than mere farm land, or mere house lots such as a new subdivision in an American Mainland city. Thousands of new Mainland subdivisions are being opened up each year, and the possibilities are limitless. The islands and the lands of Micronesia are far from limitless. The limit of availability has been reached in many cases.

Ordinary land may be regarded as worth \$100 an acre in many sections of the United States; this is good grazing land. Farm land is worth possibly several times that figure in most arable agricultural states. In Hawaii with highly scientific agricultural practices, cane and pineapple lands are valued at \$1,000 per acre up. On the other hand, raw and unimproved residential lands run from 10¢ per square foot (i.e. over \$4,300 per acre) upward to several dollars per square foot depending upon the location, desirability, and scarcity of the type of land. It can be seen, therefore, that by ordinary American appraisal criteria, agricultural land in the tiny and crowded islands of the Pacific can be worth \$1,000 an acre for agricultural purposes alone and many times that for the residential purposes to which the land is put.

It is a fact that land is almost priceless to these people.

Thus rentals that might seem high for Mainland America agricultural land, could be very low and underpaid rentals for residential areas in even the smallest hamlet of our most backward states; and certainly they could be held to be too low for the desperately needed acres of islands of the Pacific.

It could prove to be a serious mistake in the long run to under-value the land of which the Micronesians have been and now are deprived and from which they have been removed to make it available for government administrative purposes. Whatever values are decided upon and annual rentals set, it must always be kept in mind that the areas used by the government and held from habitation by Micronesians will have to be kept to an absolute minimum.

It was the policy of my Administration carefully to look into the whole subject of public domain of land that has been expropriated by the preceding governments of Germany and Japan, in order to determine how much of this land is required for continued administrative uses and how much of it could be returned to former owners

under policies to be agreed upon, and all according to old local customs of land tenure.

Today, there is an encouraging aspect to the matter of dependent peoples, even though the hour has become late insofar as many of them are concerned. There is a new attitude abroad in most nations of the Free World today, which are taking commendable humane and compassionate steps to improve the lot of such dependent people as fall to their jurisdiction. For example, we have an Office in our Department of State that is devoted to service of dependent peoples; and our Nation, through both State and Interior, is laboring to see that the lot of dependent peoples with whom we deal and also of all those dependent peoples with whom the United Nations deal, is steadily improved.

If one has the responsibility of governing the people on the islands of the Pacific, he must sense in them their desire to achieve and maintain a status equal to that of the other nationals who have inundated their shores from time to time. He must respond to their desires to acquire the ability to read and write, to use Arabic numbers, and to apply science to their endeavors. But even more basically, he must respond to their fierce desire to retain their land, and thereby retain their spirit, their courage, their self-confidence. He must see how they hate the idea of becoming wards of Uncle Sam or anyone else. They wish to be free and independent people.

As long as they own their land, they can go far. Their souls will not be submerged. They will feel secure and they will put forth the effort to attain suitable goals and to excel. Take away their land, limited in area though it is and not attractive to corporation exploitation, it is feared that as a People they would dwindle into nonentities, just wards.

#### DAVENPORT FIRE CHIEF SCHICK PRAISED

#### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the November 1969 issue of Fire Chief magazine contains a story about our fire chief in Davenport, Lester R. Schick. The article rightly praises Chief Schick for the manner in which he operates the Davenport Fire Department. I would like to add my personal praise to that contained in the article. The chief has done an outstanding job, not only for Davenport, but for the State of Iowa, and the whole Nation.

Because of his broad interests in the field of fire safety and fire prevention, Chief Schick calls our attention to a very pertinent problem: that of adequate funds for the National Commission of Fire Protection and Control. It is hard to imagine many "investments" which the Congress could make and realize a more immediate and profitable return. The chief's advice should be heeded by the Congress.

The article follows:

LESTER R. SCHICK, NATIONAL LEADER

(Fire Chief Lester Schick, Davenport, Iowa, is a leader of national reputation, having served as IAFC President among his many fire service activities. The cover photo depicts Chief Schick's unique method of allocating manpower, and shows the new district head-

quarters station with hose tower that doubles as drill tower.)

Fire Chief Lester R. Schick, Davenport, Iowa, needs no introduction to most of the nation's fire chiefs. He is widely known for his leadership at the national level. He served the International Association of Fire Chiefs as its president during 1966-67. He was a member of the Wingspread Conference Committee, the ad hoc committee of distinguished fire service leaders who met in 1966 to discuss the nation's fire problem and offer recommendations.

Chief Schick has served on so many fire service committees and organizations it is not possible to list them all here, but here are a few: For the IAFC he served as first and second vice president before becoming president, the board of directors, and as a director of the Missouri Valley Association of Fire Chiefs. He has served as president of these organizations: Davenport Fire Fighters Association, Scott County Firemen's Association, and the Iowa Fire Chiefs Association. He is currently a member of the Board of Trustees and Executive Board Member of the International Fire Administration Institute, which has recently prepared a report on higher education for the fire service. Locally he is a member of the American Legion, Loyal Order of Moose, and Legion of Moose.

Chief Schick joined the Davenport Fire Department in 1939 and was promoted to chauffeur in May, 1944. In June of that year, he joined the U.S. Army and was assigned to the 2nd Division, 9th Infantry Regiment in the European Theatre of Operations. He was discharged in February 1946 and returned to the fire department. He was appointed Lieutenant in January 1947, at the same time that the former chief retired. A civil service examination was given and Lieutenant Schick ended up on top of the eligible list. He was appointed chief only three months after he had become Lieutenant. At the age of 31, he was one of the youngest men ever appointed chief of a major city.

Davenport, a city of some 100,000 plus population, covers an area of 61 square miles. The fire department consists of 126 paid men, operating in two districts.

Although Chief Schick feels that he will never outlive the thrill, excitement, and challenge of facing a fire situation, he says that he has gained the most satisfaction from this work in observing the personal development and progress of the men working under him.

He believes that motivation comes through challenge. "We continually challenge our personnel. We also encourage participation of all men in the development and improvement of the department. This creates an esprit de corps in that it now becomes 'our system' or 'our brain child.' Under this approach, the youngest member will often make a major contribution."

Here is one example of how the Davenport Fire Department challenges its men: Chief Schick, an excellent public speaker himself, believes that by digging into a subject to prepare a presentation, a man builds his self-confidence—first, by knowing his subject well, and second, by standing before others and speaking. The training officer assigns each company of the department a subject to prepare for presentation—salvage, ventilation, etc. (The men are in classroom session every day except Saturday and Sunday.) The company officer is in charge of developing the subject matter into a two-hour classroom training session. Everyone on the department is required to participate. For his first presentation a young recruit may only introduce the speakers or subject matter, but as he develops confidence he will take a more significant part in future presentations. The sessions are given at district headquarters or headquarters. All companies of that district will be brought in for the class.



Davenport firemen make up their own promotion examination questions. The questions are researched, developed, and categorized as to rank, by the department personnel. Then men pick the questions from the extensive libraries found in each station. The system takes much of the criticism from the Civil Service Commission as to examination content and its applicability to local situations. And, since the questions have come from their own libraries, if the men don't know the answers, they have only themselves to blame.

Davenport's new district headquarters building is unique (see cover photo). It has a two-story living section in the center with one-story apparatus floors on each side, providing space for the chief's car, aerial ladder, and two pumpers. The hose tower doubles as drill tower. It has windows and catwalks so that minor hose and ladder evolutions can be performed up to the third-story level at district headquarters.

The cover photo also shows Chief Schick's unique method of manning apparatus on the fireground. Davenport runs three-man companies. The District Chiefs' cars are manned with the chief officer, chauffeur, and two firefighters. The chauffeur and the two firefighters can man a second line to create a six-man engine company crew, or can be assigned to the ladder for rescue, ventilation, or other truck work. The system also offers flexibility of manpower. The men riding the chief's car can be split up on major fires with the chauffeur becoming aide to the chief officer. Often the chief's car is first on the scene. He can thus assign the extra men as he makes his size up.

While president of the IAFC, and in his many other fire service activities and speaking engagements, Chief Schick has traveled widely throughout the United States. While serving in Europe during World War II, he served for three weeks with the London Fire Brigade. He was recommended for entrance to the National Fire Service College (British Officer College), and completed 240 hours of instruction there. Chief Schick holds the only certificate of attendance from this college in the U.S. fire service.

Although Chief Schick has served his entire career with the Davenport Fire Department, his travels and keen perception have given him a panoramic view of our nation's fire service—and he has developed some strong feelings and bold ideas about the nation's fire service needs. About this he says:

"The basic organization of the U.S. fire service as local entities without a counterpart on the county, state, or federal level makes it virtually impossible to bring a coordinated attack on the fire problem as a whole. I sincerely and deeply feel that the major problem facing the fire service today is the inability to get the Congress of the United States to recognize the complexity of the entire fire problem, and the urgency of the need to fund the National Commission of Fire Protection and Control, as provided in the Fire Research and Safety Act. This appears to be the only hope of the American people to bring about a broad, in depth, objective study of the fire problem . . . It would also appear to be the only hope to bring the complete utilization of the knowledge, technological advancements, and administrative know-how of the space age in combating the fire problem in this country."

Chief Schick relates all this to the need for unity in the fire service. "The failure to impress this urgent need upon the members of the Congress is a prime example of the lack of coordination in the fire service and related groups. In the meantime the citizens of the United States continue to experience the most appalling loss of life and property of any country in the world."

Chief Schick's dedication to the fire service is founded in his devotion—he likes his work. When asked about his hobbies he replied,

"My hobbies are confined primarily to golf, sports interests, and, truthfully, the fire service has been more of a hobby than a job to me."

A clue to the secret of his success may be his philosophy of leadership which he sums up with this quotation of Theodore Roosevelt: "A good executive is one who surrounds himself with good men, gives them a job to do, and has the intestinal fortitude to leave them alone while they are doing it."

#### RETIREMENT OF MONSIGNOR DEMJANOVICH

#### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I wish to recognize and pay tribute to a man in my congressional district, who has for 18 years rendered outstanding service to the community of Rutherford, and its adjacent areas.

The Right Reverend Monsignor Charles C. Demjanovich has retired from the pastorate of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, after serving 18 years in Rutherford.

It has been my good fortune to know Monsignor Demjanovich for many years. I have admired his courage in facing up to the many problems which confront the pastor of a parish of several thousand families.

In his position of overseeing the expansion of St. Mary's he has been responsive to the needs of his parishioners and the rest of community citizens. He has shown a progressive attitude toward every endeavor which would enhance the life of Rutherford citizens.

Monsignor Demjanovich had implicit faith in the potential capabilities of people and believed that these capabilities could be developed through education and training. And, in this respect we see the improved educational standards of the classes at St. Mary's.

The monsignor was vitally concerned with being effective than being merely efficient in the operation of his parish's activities. He had a quest for knowledge and was general in sharing it with others. He understood that cultural pursuits and opportunities are also necessary for a well-rounded individual and community development.

Monsignor Demjanovich was not content to conceive ideas and dreams, but has persisted sometimes in the face of grave obstacles, in putting these ideas and dreams into action. He has given graciously of himself and his resources to his adopted community of Rutherford, N.J., and the surrounding area.

We, in Rutherford will miss Monsignor Demjanovich, but we wish him well in his retirement years. May the good Lord provide him with the long life of ease in repayment for his 46 years of work in the House of the Lord.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I would like to include an article which appeared in the Herald-News of December 1, 1969, a newspaper which has a wide circulation in the Ninth Congress-

sional District of which Rutherford is but one small part.

The article follows:

[From the Herald-News, Dec. 1, 1969]

MONSIGNOR DEMJANOVICH, 18 YEARS IN RUTHERFORD, RETIRES

(By Howard B. Klausner)

RUTHERFORD.—Eighteen years is a fairly long time for a pastor to remain in one parish, and after 18 years in Rutherford, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles C. Demjanovich has impressed his personality on both the parish and the community.

While officially retiring from the pastorate of St. Mary's R.C. Church yesterday, Msgr. Demjanovich will remain at the church "for a while." Then, he says, he will remain active in some new capacity.

"There are lots of things to do," he said, in his rectory office, recently. "There is plenty of work to be done."

Not an orator and not a diplomat, Msgr. Demjanovich has been a teacher and a builder.

A conservative in most matters, he has moved slowly in innovations but he has built solidly.

#### SON OF IMMIGRANTS

The son of immigrants from Ruthenia, a tiny, mountainous pocket in eastern Europe, he observed the Greek Rite of the Church until he was a young man.

"My parents were called dumb greenhorns because they couldn't speak English," he recalled. "But they knew German, Slovak and Polish, while the natives here spoke just one language."

A member of a minority within a minority, the Bayonne-born, first-generation American was ordained a priest on May 26, 1923, at the age of 24, in St. Patrick's Pro-Cathedral, Newark.

Both studious and practical, he was soon appointed to the faculty of Seton Hall College and Immaculate Conception Seminary. When the seminary was moved to Darlington from South Orange, he was appointed its procurator.

In this post, he was in charge of the physical plant of the seminary, handling its finances and its repair, and teaching as well. His subjects included the history and philosophy, canon law and Slovak.

He remained there until 1951, when he was named pastor of the Rutherford parish.

#### PARISH SMALL

At that time, the parish had some 4,000 members. The grade school had 11 classrooms, while the high school, with some 550 students, had a growing budget and limited facilities.

"They used to say that Rutherford had no bars and no Catholic Church. Today, that's changed. People know we're here, and they know that we are here for good purpose."

"Now I'm a member of the Ministerial Association. Only with my Jewish colleague and I, it is now the Clergymen's Association."

Parishioners were predominantly Irish, German and Italian, and some parents recall rehearsing their children in now to say the slavic name of the new pastor.

Father Demjanovich went to work vigorously.

#### NEW CONVENT RISES

He saw to it that the teaching Sisters were housed in a new convent, instead of the frame house, they had previously used. He began a fund raising drive for a new and larger church edifice.

He worked hard on the school to keep up its standards.

Three years later, in October, 1954, he was elevated to monsignor.

St. Mary's High School and Grammar School attracted more and more Catholic families to Rutherford. More grammar school classes were added. The school was

modernized, with new facilities added each year.

When more land was needed, the pastor bought the property indirectly, through a third party. "Today, people come to us to offer property for sale, but in those days, they would have been afraid to sell it to us."

Msgr. Demjanovich also worked to weld the Catholic community into an effective political force.

By 1956, he was engaged in a controversy with the Board of Health over the providing of physical examinations for parochial school pupils.

The parish wanted a complete, or "strip" physical. The board maintained it could only provide limited inspection by a nurse.

The growing controversy served to solidify the parish behind the pastor, as he insisted on a change in the Board of Education.

#### A MAYOR PROMISES

"The mayor at that time promised us he'd do something for us, but the Board of Health kept voting, 'No, No.' So we decided to do something about it.

"The candidate who ran against him promised to appoint someone to the board who would be unbiased. So I mentioned this to people, and this candidate won by a thousand votes.

"But then he appointed someone to the board whose wife had made speeches against our school program. And he kept voting the same way.

"Well, I told people about that. And the mayor came to my office and pleaded with me for over an hour, saying I was delivering the election to his opponent. And I had to tell him I could only tell the truth.

"So he lost by a thousand votes."

#### MONSIGNOR WINS POINT

After this election, the new mayor appointed members to the Board of Health who saw things differently about the strip physicals, and the pastor won his point.

Another time, the pastor took on the Board of Recreation and the Community Fund, arguing that they were funneling public money into a secretarian organization, the Young Men's Christian Association.

"Our children had to join the 'Y' and become dues-paying members in order to enjoy its benefits," he said. The Recreation Commission agreed to stop making contributions to the "Y". A few years later, the Rutherford YMCA became a branch of the Bergen County YMCA.

More recently, the pastor fought successfully to keep the street adjoining the Grammar School closed to traffic during certain hours, as a play street.

After a Rutherford resident obtained an injunction against the closing of the street, the pastor worked to have a new law passed by the state legislature, permitting a town to close streets to traffic.

#### AGAIN IN TRENTON

Then, after the law was enacted, the pastor discovered that a Trenton official still denied the town the right to close the street.

"I went to Governor Hughes, and told him about it. He picked up a telephone, and called Miss Strelecki (director of the State Division of Motor Vehicles). The permit was granted."

The last few years have been relatively tranquil on the political front.

With almost 11,000 parishioners, the parish is now more than half the population of the borough.

In its administration and outlook, the town remains as conservative as ever. In a sense, the town has absorbed the new population as much as the new population has absorbed it.

There are now 37 classes in the grammar school, with more expected. The high school

population has been kept the same, while the standards have been steadily improved.

The school has been accredited by the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland Association, and more than half its graduates enter college.

#### EXPANDING AGAIN?

Masses now have to be offered in the Rutherford High School on Sundays, and it seems apparent that the parish must expand again.

The directions the parish will take are now to be left to others. The retiring pastor is of a generation now far removed from the management of the Roman Catholic Church in America.

On May 27, 1958, at a dinner honoring the 50th anniversary of the founding of St. Mary's Church, Msgr. Demjanovich said, "The seed was sown by those who were here in the early days. It was watered by those who followed. And we are still reaping the fruit.

"There is still much to do. Whatever material progress has been made has been because you want it."

#### FACT SHEET ON NEW INDUCTION PROCEDURES

##### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, my office has been receiving numerous requests for information regarding the new draft procedures and regulations. Recently the Honorable L. MENDEL RIVERS, chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, printed a copy of a "Fact Sheet on New Selective Service Induction Procedures" which I have found most helpful in answering questions from constituents. Chairman RIVERS is to be commended for this service. I recommend the "Fact Sheet," which follows, to any of my colleagues who have not yet seen it:

#### FACT SHEET ON NEW SELECTIVE SERVICE INDUCTION PROCEDURES BACKGROUND

President Nixon, under the authority vested in him by the Selective Service Act of 1967, as amended by Public Law 91-124 of November 26, 1969, has issued a proclamation and an executive order which directs the implementation of important changes in draft policy and procedures.

The purpose of this fact sheet is to identify these major changes in draft procedures and briefly discuss their implementation.

#### MAJOR CHANGES IN DRAFT POLICY AND PROCEDURES

1. *The "First Priority Selection Group" during 1970.*—President Nixon has directed that during Calendar Year 1970 the "first priority selection group" from which inductees will be selected will consist of all registrants who were born on or after January 1, 1944, and on or before December 31, 1950, and who are classified I-A or I-A-O.

Stated another way, during Calendar Year 1970, the "first priority selection group" available for selection for induction will consist of those registrants who had attained their 19th birth date prior to January 1, 1970, and those registrants over age 19 who will not attain their 26th birth date prior to January 1, 1970, provided they are classified I-A or I-A-O.

It is important to note, however, that if a registrant in this age group (19 through 25) attains his 26th birth date during Calendar Year 1970 before his number has been reached by his local draft board for induction, he will be transferred out of this "first priority selection group" into a lower priority group of registrants not normally available for induction. Liability for induction of such registrants over age 26 will then, for practical purposes, be eliminated except in those instances in which the registrant had been deferred by reason of graduate student training in one of the health specialties and therefore subject to possible induction until age 35 under the so-called Doctor Draft Act.

On the other hand, any such registrant whose random sequence number has been reached and who would have been ordered to report for induction except for delays due to a personal appearance, appeal, preinduction examination, reclassification, or otherwise, shall, if and when found acceptable, and when such delay is concluded, be ordered to report for induction next after delinquents and volunteers, even if the year in which he otherwise would have been ordered to report has ended, and even if (in cases of extended liability) he has attained his 26th birth date.

2. *The "First Priority Selection Group" during Calendar Year 1971 and Later Years.*—The "first priority selection group" during Calendar Year 1971 and each subsequent year thereafter, will consist of:

(a) Registrants who prior to January 1 of each such calendar year have attained the age of 19 but not of 20 years and are in Class I-A or I-A-O; and

(b) Those registrants who prior to January 1 of each such calendar year have attained the age of 19 but not of 26 years, and who had not previously been fully exposed to vulnerability for actual induction in the "first priority selection group" (by reason of a student deferment or otherwise).

"Full" exposure is considered to have occurred if the registrant was in the "first priority selection group" on December 31 of the calendar year and his random sequence number had not been reached by that date.

Thus, during Calendar Year 1971 and in subsequent years, the "first priority selection group" will consist of registrants in their 19th year of age and those other registrants age 20 through 25, not previously fully exposed to induction by reason of deferment or otherwise.

3. *Order of Call for Inductees.*—Under previous draft selection procedures, registrants within the age group 19 to 26 who were classified I-A or I-A-O and otherwise available for induction were ordered for induction on the basis of the "oldest first system". Thus, the birth date of registrants in the "pool" established their sequential order of call.

President Nixon has now changed this procedure by instituting a random system of selection (authorized by Public Law 91-124 of November 26, 1969). The random selection procedure, as implemented by the Selective Service System, will determine the order in which registrants in any available "pool" will be ordered first for induction.

The system now adopted by the Director of Selective Service results in a scrambling of dates of birth of each registrant and the substitution of a randomly-arrived-at sequential number for each registrant.

A national lottery was held at Selective Service Headquarters in Washington, D. C. on Monday, December 1, 1969, which established the sequence of numbers which will be observed by each local board in ordering registrants for induction from its available manpower pool.

The order of induction for registrants (ages 19 through 25) in the "first priority selection group" during 1970 has been established as follows:



## RANDOM SELECTION SEQUENCE, 1970

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
1.....	305	086	108	032	330	249	003	111	225	359	019	129
2.....	159	144	029	271	298	228	350	045	161	125	034	328
3.....	251	297	267	083	040	301	115	261	049	244	348	157
4.....	215	210	275	081	276	020	279	145	232	202	266	165
5.....	101	214	293	269	364	028	188	054	082	024	310	056
6.....	224	347	139	253	155	110	327	114	006	087	076	010
7.....	306	091	122	147	035	085	050	168	008	234	051	012
8.....	199	181	213	312	321	366	013	048	184	283	097	105
9.....	194	338	317	219	197	335	277	106	263	342	080	043
10.....	325	216	323	218	065	206	284	021	071	220	282	041
11.....	329	150	136	014	037	134	248	324	158	237	046	039
12.....	221	068	300	346	133	272	015	142	242	072	065	314
13.....	318	152	259	124	295	069	042	307	175	138	126	163
14.....	238	004	354	231	178	356	331	198	001	294	127	026
15.....	017	089	169	273	130	180	322	102	113	171	131	320
16.....	121	212	166	148	055	274	120	044	207	254	107	096
17.....	235	189	033	260	112	073	098	154	255	288	143	304
18.....	140	292	332	090	278	341	190	141	246	005	146	128
19.....	058	025	200	336	075	104	227	311	177	241	203	240
20.....	280	302	239	345	183	360	187	344	063	192	185	135
21.....	186	363	334	062	250	060	027	291	204	243	156	070
22.....	337	290	265	118	326	247	153	339	160	117	009	053
23.....	118	057	256	252	319	109	172	116	119	201	182	162
24.....	059	236	258	002	031	358	023	036	195	196	230	095
25.....	052	179	343	351	361	137	067	286	149	176	132	084
26.....	092	365	170	340	357	022	303	245	018	007	309	173
27.....	355	205	268	074	296	064	289	352	233	264	047	078
28.....	077	299	223	262	308	222	088	167	257	094	281	123
29.....	349	285	362	191	226	353	270	061	151	229	099	016
30.....	164	-----	217	208	103	209	287	333	315	038	174	003
31.....	211	-----	030	-----	313	-----	193	011	-----	079	-----	100

Since it is probable that in many instances local boards will have more than one registrant with the same "number" for induction by reason of their having the same birth date, their sequence of induction will be determined by the first letter of their names (last name and, if necessary, first name), which have also been arrived at in a random sequence established by a supplemental drawing which also was conducted at Selective Service Headquarters on December 1, 1969. The sequence of this alphabetical drawing for Calendar Year 1970 is as follows:

1.....	J	14.....	C
2.....	G	15.....	F
3.....	D	16.....	I
4.....	X	17.....	K
5.....	N	18.....	H
6.....	O	19.....	S
7.....	Z	20.....	L
8.....	T	21.....	M
9.....	W	22.....	A
10.....	P	23.....	R
11.....	Q	24.....	E
12.....	Y	25.....	B
13.....	U	26.....	V

The relative sequence established for all registrants, ages 19 through 25, as reflected in the number assigned to their birth date, will remain with the registrant permanently. Thus, despite the fact that a new "lottery" will be held each year for young men attaining age 19 on or after January 1, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, et cetera, these subsequent annual lotteries will not have any effect on registrants previously lotteried.

Stated another way, once a registrant receives a lottery number to establish his sequence for possible induction, he retains that number permanently, regardless of the calendar year during which he is actually exposed to induction.

4. *Transfer of a Registrant from the "First Priority Selection Group" to a Lower Priority Selection Group.*—A question may be raised as to the period of time which a registrant must spend in the "first priority selection group" in order to discharge his prime liability for induction. Generally speaking, registrants will remain in the "first priority selection group" during the entire calendar year of exposure, i.e., from January 1 to December 31. However, because of a possible deferred status, a registrant may only spend a relatively short period of time before the end of the calendar year in this "first priority selection group" as a registrant classified I-A or I-A-O and available for induction; therefore, the regulations issued by the Pres-

ident indicate that only those registrants who are in the "first priority selection group" on December 31 of the year of their exposure and whose random sequence number had not been reached by that date, shall be assigned to a priority group which is immediately below the "first priority selection group".

Stated another way, a *deferred* registrant (one not classified I-A or I-A-O) will remain liable for transfer back to the "first priority selection group" during any given calendar year until such time as he has had the maximum possible exposure to induction by virtue of having been in the "first priority selection group" on the last day of the calendar year and providing that his particular sequence number had not been reached by that date.

## SUMMARY

The changes in draft policy announced by President Nixon and implemented by the Director of Selective Service make no changes in the manner in which young men are required to register for the draft at age 18; nor do they change existing law or regulations concerning the manner in which these registrants are subsequently classified by their local draft boards.

The changes merely involve the manner in which registrants are selected and the time frame of their vulnerability.

During Calendar Year 1970 the ages of registrants who have maximum vulnerability for induction will range from 19 through 25. Thus during Calendar year 1970, the only marked difference between the existing system heretofore observed by Selective Service, and the new system which will be placed into effect on January 1, 1970, relates to the manner in which these young men who are classified I-A or I-A-O and are available for induction are to be selected for induction. The existing system simply required that the "oldest first" in the pool be ordered for induction, the oldest first being determined on the basis of the registrant's birth date.

The new system selects registrants for induction on the basis of the sequential number assigned to the individual registrants in lieu of his birth date. As previously explained, the sequential number assigned to each registrant is one arrived at by "random selection". This number will establish the individual registrant's relative order of call.

Calendar Year 1970 is therefore a transitional period during which the Selective Service System hopes to move into the final phase of its announced policy to reduce the period of uncertainty facing young men as regards the draft from the present 19 to 26 year period down to the 19-20 year period.

The period of transition, i.e., Calendar Year 1970, is necessary so as to ensure that registrants above age 20 and below age 26 who have been given a deferred status will be given some exposure to the draft.

Beginning with Calendar Year 1971, the new system will become fully effective. At that time, the "first priority selection group" will then consist primarily of registrants ages 19 to 20 and those older registrants under age 26 who had not previously been "fully" exposed to the draft.

## GAINS IN REHABILITATION

## HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 8, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, for 24 years, Dr. Howard Rusk, director of the Institute of Rehabilitation Medicine of New York University, has been writing a weekly column for the Sunday New York Times. The column that appeared yesterday was Dr. Rusk's last on a regular basis.

The reason for the termination of the column is quite related to the reason for its inception. In 1945, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the Times, observed that if there was any good to war, it was that the good lessons of war could be utilized for the benefit of all people. He hoped that the rehabilitation programs for servicemen could be made available to all people and the wanted The New York Times to provide a "forum for public education and national and community action toward this end."

Largely through Dr. Rusk's tireless efforts and skill, this objective has been realized. The handicapped are employed regularly in offices and factories; hospitals provide comprehensive rehabilitation services where previously there were none at all; the training of physicians in this field and the number of physical and occupational therapists has increased enormously.

Too often, we take the accomplish-

ments of modern medicine for granted, and fail to recognize the years of painstaking research and experimentation that now make routine procedures possible. Dr. Rusk's final column reviews the strides we have made in the last quarter century in the field of rehabilitation medicine. I think that Members will find it of interest, and I hope that they will add between the lines as they read the fact that Dr. Howard Rusk, a great American doctor and humanitarian, made much of it possible.

The material referred to follows:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 7, 1969]  
GAINS IN REHABILITATION—PROGRAMS FOR  
DISABLED OF WORLD WAR II NOW GENERALLY  
AVAILABLE TO WHOLE NATION

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

(This is Dr. Howard A. Rusk's final column for The Times on a weekly schedule. Dr. Rusk, director of the Institute of Rehabilitation medicine, New York University Medical Center, will remain as a contributing editor of The Times on health and medical affairs.)

This column first appeared 24 years ago this Sunday. It has been published each Sunday since with but two exceptions. One was in 1953 when it reported a stroke suffered by Sir Winston Churchill and its complications and prognosis. Since the British Government had not officially announced that Sir Winston had had a stroke, The New York Times felt such disclosure was not appropriate.

The writer was on his way to Korea at the time and could not be reached so the column was not published.

Two years later, however, when angered in a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Winston in true Churchillian rhetoric warned his opponents that he had had a stroke and conquered it and he would conquer his opponents in the same way. The story of Sir Winston's stroke was then reported in this column.

#### COPY LOST IN MAIL

The second instance was far less dramatic. The copy was lost in the mail between 34th Street and First Avenue and Times Square.

The genesis of this column 24 years ago resulted from a meeting with the late Arthur Hays Sulzberger toward the end of World War II.

In inviting the writer to join the staff of The New York Times, Mr. Sulzberger said, "If there is anything good about war it is taking the good lessons we have learned because of war and utilizing them for the benefit of all people. I think the program developed for our disabled servicemen should be made available to all people. I would like The New York Times to provide a forum for public education and national and community action toward this end."

During the last 24 years great strides have been made throughout the world in improving the lot of the physically handicapped. For those who were paralyzed by poliomyelitis or stroke or had suffered amputations from accidents or who had broken their back, there was little chance for employment.

Securing employment for the severely disabled is still not an easy task but it is commonplace now to see the severely disabled at all kinds of work. Labor and management have learned that hiring the handicapped is good business.

During World War II, Veterans Administration hospitals were termed the "backwash of American medicine." Shortly after the war they were completely reorganized and have functioned for the last two decades with high professional standards and efficiency.

At the end of World War II there was not a single comprehensive rehabilitation medicine service in any civilian general hospital in the United States. Now all modern hospitals have such services.

#### PROGRAMS IN SCHOOLS

At that time none of the medical schools in the United States had organized programs to teach young physicians the principles of rehabilitation medicine.

Now the majority of the nation's medical schools have departments of rehabilitation medicine and include this subject in their curricula.

The national supply of physical therapists and occupational therapists 24 years ago numbered in the hundreds. Although such people are still in short supply their numbers are now in the thousands.

In 1945, the total number of disabled persons rehabilitated into employment under the public program of vocational rehabilitation was but 41,925. In the fiscal year ended last June a record total of 241,390 disabled Americans were rehabilitated into gainful employment through the program.

The total Federal investment in vocational rehabilitation in 1945 was about \$7-million. This year it is close to \$558-million.

Studies show that these investments by the Federal Government are returned 10 times in income taxes alone paid by those rehabilitated.

#### RESEARCH IN UNIVERSITIES

There were no Federally supported research or training programs in 1945 and few universities trained rehabilitation personnel.

Today, practically every large university conducts extensive programs of research and training supported by both Federal and voluntary funds.

These gains have not been limited to the United States. Organized, effective rehabilitation services can be found in all of the developed nations of the world and in an increasing number of the developing nations.

This is the last Sunday that this column will appear as a regular feature in The New York Times. It will be published, however, from time to time and will deal not only with rehabilitation but also with the pressing problems of social medicine, medical economics, health manpower shortages and the delivery of health services.

The column is being discontinued on a regular Sunday basis, for after 24 years the objectives of the late Arthur Hays Sulzberger have been met and the rehabilitation program developed for our disabled servicemen in World War II has generally become available to our population.

#### THE KILLING OF BABY SEALS

##### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, an article appearing in a national magazine has caused a great deal of concern among all nature lovers.

The result has been that the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries of the Department of the Interior and other Government agencies have received many letters of protest and letters inquiring as to the reliability of the story.

The Bureau of Commercial Fisheries has prepared a statement on this subject which was unofficially brought to my attention by the Library of Congress. I would like to make the report of the Library part of these remarks so that concerned people may know the truth in this matter. The killing of baby seals has never been practiced in this country. The report follows:

#### THE KILLING OF BABY SEALS

(By Elmer W. Shaw, analyst in conservation and natural resources, Environmental Policy Division)

The Legislative Reference Service has received many inquiries regarding the killing of baby seals in Alaska, based on a letter from a 9-year-old girl, Lillie Leonard, which was published in the November 4, 1969 issue of *Look Magazine* under the title "A little girl asks Why Must They Die?"

Some of the impressions created by this article are misleading. The killing of baby seals was formerly practiced in Canada, but not in Alaska. Sealing operations under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Government are frequently inspected by the Humane Society of the United States and the World Federation for the Protection of Animals. The following explanation prepared by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries in the U.S. Department of the Interior refutes parts of the *Look Magazine* article and describes how fur seals are harvested in the United States.

"The letter from Lillie Leonard was in error since baby seals are not harvested in the United States nor in any sealing over which the United States has jurisdiction. Pup seals have been harvested on the ice off eastern Canada by Canadian and Norwegian nationals. The United States has no jurisdiction over those seal stocks since they are in Canadian and international waters. No U.S. citizens take part in the harvest. Recently Canada announced a ban on the taking of "whitecoats," which are the very young pups previously harvested. Seals now have to reach the "beater" stage before they may be taken. "Beaters" are seals whose coat has darkened and which are able to swim.

"The fur seal harvest on the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, is conducted under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. Almost all seals harvested are 3- and 4-year-old males. No pups are taken. The northern fur seals of the Pribilof Islands are the subject of an international treaty first formed in 1911. Under the protection of this treaty and through the management of the Department of the Interior, the herd has increased from only about 200,000 animals in 1912 to the present level of over 1½ million.

#### "SANTA LOOP"—DOWNTOWN CLEVELAND BUSLINE

##### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, approximately 2 weeks ago, the Urban Mass Transit Administration announced a \$30,000 grant to the city of Cleveland to demonstrate the feasibility of a special downtown busline for use during the Christmas holidays. These funds, plus \$35,000 in local money, are now being used to add 12 buses to the normal schedules to facilitate the circulation of Christmas shoppers in the downtown area.

Friday, December 5, I had the pleasure of accompanying my Cleveland colleague, BILL FEIGHAN, Carlos Villarreal, the Urban Mass Transit Administrator, and members of his staff, to Cleveland to formally dedicate the "Santa Loop." The trip, which was jointly coordinated by the Congressional Liaison Office at HUD, and the mayor's office in Cleveland, was both enjoyable and enlightening.

I was particularly impressed with the concept of inner-city circulation busing.



Revitalizing the downtown sections of our large urban areas is of tremendous importance to most of us here in Congress. We all equally understand the relationship between transporting people from their homes to downtown and such vitalization. I am afraid, however, that we often overlook the problem of inner-area transportation. In the large, spread-out territories that make up the hearts of our downtown districts, a day of shopping can often mean either a substantial expenditure for bus and/or cab fare, or very tired feet for a shopper wishing to cover all the stores. The usual result is that the buyer winds up using only a few shops in a limited area.

The "Santa Loop," which provides continuous circulating buses for a minimal fare—10 cents—appears to be an excellent solution to this problem. Mr. Villarreal assured me that if the project proves to be successful, it will be both continued in Cleveland and replicated in other downtown areas. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I should like at this time to salute the Urban Mass Transit Administration and the city of Cleveland for their foresight in arranging and funding the "Santa Loop." I wish them every possible degree of success.

#### MARYLAND SOLDIER, MARINE DIE IN VIETNAM

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. Daniel L. Seekford and L. Cpl. Robert B. Hamblett, two fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to honor their memories by including the following article in the RECORD:

**SOLDIER, MARINE DIE IN VIETNAM—SEEKFOR AND HAMBLETT ARE KILLED IN ACTION**

The Department of Defense announced yesterday the deaths of two Maryland servicemen in South Vietnam.

They were:

Army Staff Sgt. Daniel L. Seekford, 20, of 258 Baltimore avenue, Dundalk.

Marine Lance Cpl. Robert B. Hamblett, 19, of 3415 79th street, Forestville, Md.

Sergeant Seekford was killed last week by an enemy grenade while he was on patrol. He had been scheduled to return home December 15.

A native of Baltimore, he entered the Army in June, 1966, shortly after his 17th birthday. He attended Dundalk Senior High School, and completed high school while in the Army.

"I tried to talk him out of an extra six months tour of duty in Vietnam, but it didn't help," John E. Bender, his stepfather, said yesterday.

"He said the Vietnamese people needed him and the young fellows coming over also needed him to stay alive a little longer. He wanted to stay because he felt he belonged to Vietnam," Mr. Bender added.

Sergeant Seekford, who had belonged to Troop 438 of the Boy Scouts of America in Dundalk, received his basic training at Fort Jackson, S.C., and took advanced infantry training at Fort Dix, N.J.

He took airborne training at Fort Benning, Ga., and a special sniper course at Fort Bragg,

N.C., where he also received Ranger training. He went to Vietnam in October, 1967, joining Company B, 3d Battalion, 503d Airborne Infantry in the 173d Airborne Brigade.

He participated in the fight on Hill 875 near Dak To during Thanksgiving, 1967, an action which won his unit a Presidential Unit Citation.

Sergeant Seekford was awarded several Air Medals and a Bronze Star.

He is survived by his father, John Seekford, of Florida; his stepfather and mother, Mr. and Mrs. John E. Bender, of Dundalk; two sisters, Mrs. Anne Tabor, of Brown Point, N.Y., and Mrs. Bonnie Bennett, of Baltimore; two stepbrothers, John Bender, Jr., of Port Lee, Va., and Robert Bender, of Baltimore; and his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Anne Dice, of Baltimore.

Corporal Hamblett joined the Marine Corps in September, 1967. In the spring he had graduated from high school in Roanoke, Va.

He was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Silas D. Hamblett, of Forestville.

He had about 70 days to go in Vietnam, when he was killed on a mission November 12. He was in the 1st Battalion of the 7th Marines, 1st Division.

In addition to his parents, he is survived by three brothers, James, Lawrence and Mark Hamblett; and two sisters, Marsha and Terri Sue Hamblett; all of Forestville.

#### A NATIONAL CORPS OF YOUNG IDEALISTS?

#### HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on July 9, informed the Members of the House of Representatives that I had formulated a proposal which I feel can serve as a general foundation upon which we can build a comprehensive program to fulfill the occupational needs of our technological society as well as to provide the chance for a young person to serve his or her country in some way other than in a military capacity. In order to study the feasibility of establishing a national service academy program, on August 5, I appointed a five-member task force of leading educators. Due to my interest in this area, I was particularly intrigued by an article in the Wall Street Journal written by Prof. Amitai Etzioni, chairman of the department of sociology at Columbia University. I feel his observations are certainly thought-provoking and I would like to share them with my colleagues at this time:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Nov. 28, 1969]

#### A NATIONAL CORPS OF YOUNG IDEALISTS?

(By Amitai Etzioni)

Many over 30 view America's youth as a drug-crazy, promiscuous, politically misguided, unwashed generation. A strong idealism, however, characterizes that same youth, particularly the sons of the affluent. While many of the young workers and children of minorities still seek the Good Life in the traditional terms of material objects, many of the middle classes sneer at the consumer culture and the hard labor required to attain it.

A study conducted for Fortune in mid-1969 divided the American youth into non-college, college and "forerunners." The forerunners (or activists), the study shows, set the patterns that many others soon follow. Asked what will affect their choice of career, only 21% of the forerunners mentioned "money"

as a major determinant (compared to 58% of college and 57% of non-college), but 80% listed "opportunity to make a meaningful contribution" (compared to 55% of non-college youth and 71% of college youth).

#### FAVORING PUBLIC SERVICE

The young idealists see in most business pursuits a search for self-aggrandizement. They favor either public service that permits little self-gain (the Peace Corps and VISTA) or public service combined with a modestly comfortable career (teaching or social work). A June 1968 Gallup poll of students reports: "The traditional goals of college students of making money and 'getting ahead in the world's appear to have lost some of their charm. No less than two college students in every three said they would have an interest in working either in VISTA or the Peace Corps.'" This would total 4.3 million out of 6.5 million college students.

Much of this idealism is rather pliable; it can take a large variety of forms ranging from completely legitimate voluntary national service and political campaigning (the McCarthy kids) through peaceful demonstrations (the Vietnam Moratorium) to disruptions of campuses and cities (see any daily newspaper). Whether the idealism spills into the street or is channelled into constructive outlets depends on two major factors: The extent to which the active youth can identify with the national purpose, and the availability of concrete opportunities. The overwhelming majority of the young Americans not only seek no part of the war in Vietnam, but find it difficult to work for a nation that wages it. As the end of the war may be approaching, it makes sense to ask what opportunities for national service will be available after it is terminated. Around which projects may the youth and the nation be reconciled?

At first it might seem rather easy to ask these young persons, to put their shoulders where their mouths are; why not join the Peace Corps and VISTA? But these organizations can accommodate only a very small number of volunteers. VISTA involves about 6,000 full-time volunteers; the Peace Corps about 11,000. Last spring, the Peace Corps had 3,004 qualified applicants for 1,261 openings. At the same time, VISTA has become more selective, rather than more open. Each year about 4 million Americans reach the age of 19. If only one out of eight volunteered, the opportunities for national service would have to be multiplied 25 times.

A proposal that has small but active support, both in the educational establishment and in Congress, would offer each young person, on completing high school or college, a number of alternative forms of national service, including an expanded Peace Corps, a much enlarged VISTA. Conservation Corps (to help preserve or restore America's natural resources and beauty). Teacher Corps (to help tutor children in slums) and Job Corps (to carry out public works and train those who would otherwise be unemployed). Military service, at this stage, might no longer require a compulsory draft and could be treated as one option available for national service.

Some advocates of the idea favor making such a year of service mandatory. This, however, would rob the service of much of its idealistic appeal. The young idealist who is forced to serve can hardly be expected to be enthusiastic; he may also find himself among people who do not wish to teach, work, or whatever, but are merely serving their year.

Some incentives would help a voluntary service. For instance, the universities may recognize the contribution of the young volunteers by making national service a prerequisite for awarding a fellowship. The civil and foreign service may prefer candidates who served their country first. Private employers may also come to take such service into account in their hiring.

Finally, colleges suffer today from too

many youths who enter "too young," without a clear vision of the world or what they will do in it. A study of "drop-outs" suggests that leaving the educational hothouse for a year often helps a young man find what he is after, as well as what he is himself. Unfortunately in the existing system, dropping out for a year entails stigma. A year of national service would provide a legitimate opportunity for "dropping out," and with a clear point for gracefully terminating the "moratorium" (as experts refer to the period of psychological suspension of career and identity decisions) once the year is out.

#### "A YEAR-LONG PAUSE"

Furthermore, a volunteer would be less alienated, as a major source of restlessness of students today is the highly regimented nature of the educational system. Students who move directly from high school into college feel that they "never had a break" or "moved from one marching team into another." A year-long pause, in which the young person can lead a less scheduled and less structured life without being labeled a "drop out" or considered a deviant might be extremely useful.

There is a small lobby for such a national service in Washington, which consists mainly of one young dedicated man, Donald J. Eberly, who has been promoting it for the last five years. Sen. Hatfield introduced a bill in the 91st Congress providing for the establishment of a National Youth Service Foundation. Sens. Mathias, Percy and Saxton co-sponsored the bill. The Russell Sage Foundation financed a National Conference in which the idea was endorsed by a large number of educational and public leaders. But, so far, the measure has not been enacted; the White House, preoccupied with other matters, has not given the idea active support although President Nixon is on record as highly in favor of "the voluntary way."

A major deterrent is the price. Somehow one does not expect idealism or a voluntary service to cost much. On the contrary, one expects the national servicemen to save some resources by providing free teaching, low cost labor for conservation projects and so on. Actually, voluntary labor is not free, and free labor is not wanted. To take a young person out of his home and to put him into the field means food and shelter, a minimum of clothing and some medical attention. Supervision is necessary to ensure the success of the programs. It is estimated that these services would cost \$4,000 a year per youth. If all the 4 million who reach the age of 19 each year were to volunteer, this would amount to a hefty \$16 billion a year, an amount few would be willing to pay for a national service, whatever its merits. Even if one out of four of the youth joined, \$4 billion a year is still twice as much as the Government now invests in the war on poverty and almost the amount allotted by the Federal Government to support education at all levels.

Even if financial support could be found, there remains the question of what these young men and women would actually do. In a conference devoted to the subject two years ago both business and labor spokesmen warned against unfair competition. The AFL-CIO executive council stated, "The national service concept raises serious problems from a practical viewpoint . . . an artificially low pay rate will result in the emergence of a large manpower unfairly competing with the remainder of the labor force." Roland M. Bixler, president of J-B-T Instruments and a director of the National Association of Manufacturers, asked, "How can we reconcile the manpower needs of other sections of our society if we drain off the nation's young men and women into national service?" The problem is somewhat akin to the work of inmates in prisons. Although the work itself is desirable, almost everybody agrees that in-

mates, subsidized by the government, should not be allowed to provide cheap labor or to undercut the market prices of products produced by the private sector. Even without trespassing into the domains of business and labor, it might be difficult to find a million meaningful assignments a year for the national servicemen. The advocates of the plan, hence, call for starting with small contingents, to develop such roles and explore outlets. They seek a budget of not more than \$75 million for the first year, rising to \$300 million for the third.

Part of the answer may be found in a very different corner. The Government is considering substantially expanding support for higher education after the war. There is already a grand debate among experts over how the new support should be allocated: Should it be given as institutional support to the colleges; allotted to states to hand out as they see fit, or provided to parents in the form of a tax deduction? A sizable body of experts favors still another option: Giving it to the students in the form of fellowships. This could be linked to national service by requiring the student, as a condition of receiving a public fellowship, to spend a set amount of time as a tutor of students from disadvantaged backgrounds on his own campus or in slum schools. Because such tutoring is Low nobody's job, large numbers of servicemen could be employed without depriving others.

#### DRAWING IN THE DISADVANTAGED

Opportunities for volunteer service should also be provided to the more than 50% of our young who are not going to college. The Job Corps, which carries out projects and provides training, might be one way. As it would draw many persons from disadvantaged backgrounds, it could be financed in part from funds that otherwise would provide unemployment or relief benefits to the same persons. There would be much less stigma attached to such a service year in the Job Corps than there is now if it were part of a national organization in which young people of all backgrounds served.

Thus, part of the costs of the new program may be charged against Federal aid to education and against Welfare and Labor Department budgets. Still another part could be subsidized by the military, which would draw a significant part of the servicemen.

The program does face a number of difficulties and is much easier to endorse than to implement. However, its proponents argue that the country needs such a national service if the present alienation of the youth is not to extend deeply into the post-Vietnam area and if idealism is to be moved from the streets into a regeneration of America.

#### WHEN TRAFFIC JAMS STALL THE NATION

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, during the 20th century, man has made more progress than in all the cumulative centuries preceding it. Ironically, man is beginning to realize that he must balance the promise of technological advance with its attendant problems.

Getting to specifics—transportation. We can move men and material to the moon and back—but we cannot get across town during the rush hour.

We are running out of time and this Government must take the lead. We can-

not keep moving ahead with our random patterns of transportation. We must have a cohesive national transportation policy.

The dark side of our transport picture is wrapped-up in item-by-item fashion in the December 6 issue of Newsweek. At this time, I insert the following article:

#### WHEN TRAFFIC JAMS STALL THE NATION

Congestion—noisy, wasteful, polluting, frustrating congestion—will characterize transportation in, around, and above cities throughout the 1970s. It will become so bad that it will force New York to ban private automobiles from the middle of Manhattan Island before the conclusion of the decade.

For most of the 20th Century, Americans have taken for granted the right and ability to go anywhere at any time by any of a multitude of means. They are going to go right on believing this, building highways and buying cars and trucks and planes until, in a few key places, they run out of the one thing they cannot manufacture: space.

#### BETTER WAYS TO GO

Actually, there are all kinds of vehicles available today—or soon to become available—that can provide more efficient transportation and keep the cities from choking. High-speed mass transit systems, such as commuter railroads, subways, or even monorails, could be built relatively easily and cheaply to relieve the congestion.

But as Assistant Transportation Secretary Paul Cherington puts it: "The most efficient sleeping arrangements are those in barracks with triple-tiered bunks, and no one seriously suggests we should live that way." In city after city, a majority of the people has consistently failed to approve the necessary financing. In part, the voters assume that whatever is built will resemble the crowded, noisy, dirty transit systems of the Northeast. More important, no such mass transit system offers the instant door-to-door transportation provided by the automobile—Instant, that is, in the sense that a person can leave whenever he wants. Getting there is often less than half the fun.

#### MOTORISTS' PLOY

Even in the San Francisco Bay area, a huge exception to the rule, a fascinating fact was uncovered after a \$750-million bond issue just squeaked through several years ago to permit work to start on the Bay Area Rapid Transit System. A significant number of people who voted for the issue—probably the difference between passage and failure—later admitted they did not plan to use the high-speed trains. They voted for BART in the belief that enough of their neighbors would use the system to unsmother the freeways; these voters could then have a pleasant trip downtown in their automobiles.

Carlos C. Villarreal, Urban Mass Transportation Administrator, admits BART will be in trouble at first, with passenger loads failing to come up to expectations right away. But it will be only a matter of time, he believes, before the scales will tip in favor of the transit system. Once commuters see that the drive into San Francisco or Oakland is too time-consuming and costly—with hardly any place downtown for parking—they will switch to BART.

#### MANHATTAN DISARRANGEMENT

In the New York metropolitan area, which already has an intricate pattern of commuter railroads, the world's largest and possibly most unpleasant subway system, and untold thousands of urban and suburban buses, the sardine-packed crowds of today will seem pleasant compared to the horrifying congestion still ahead. The millions upon millions of square feet of new office space opened up in the 1970s will require hundreds of thousands of additional workers. Call them commuters, for most of them will insist on living outside of Manhattan.



"I don't know how it's going to be done, and I don't know what streets will be involved," says Cherington. "I can't say whether it will be prohibitive tolls on the bridges and tunnels or barriers across streets or guardrails. But this I know: There will be no private traffic in midtown Manhattan. Nothing on the drawing boards will arrive in time to save New York."

#### URBAN SPRAWL

Most U.S. cities that do not have rapid transit systems now probably will not have them. Instead, each urban area will continue to spread out until it comes up against a neighboring city growing toward it. The whole sprawl will be connected by an ever-growing grid of highways and streets to accommodate the 130-million cars and trucks expected to be registered by the early 1980s.

Yet it is impossible to build enough highways and parking lots for all these vehicles. Something will be done to ease the congestion—but only when things get so bad that a majority of the population becomes sufficiently aroused to vote for relief. And that relief may put limits on a driver's right to go where he wants.

The first steps will be tiny. A few municipalities are trying exclusive bus lanes on highways and streets. The most closely watched experiment of this type is in northern Virginia, not far from the Washington offices of the Transportation Dept. One lane of a 15-mi. stretch of Interstate 95 is set aside for express buses from the suburbs during rush hours. These buses, which are well patronized, shave 15 to 20 minutes off the time it would take the average commuter to get to town in his own car, according to a Transportation official.

The bus lane idea will inevitably spread. Even this will take political courage to make it stick as motorists sit stalled in traffic jams, glaring at empty concrete in the next lane or at an occasional, partially filled bus roaring by.

#### COMPUTERIZATION

The next step also is well within the present state of technology: using computers to control street signals and access to freeways. Again, this step will inhibit the freedom of motorists and also cost a lot. One city with computer control of traffic lights is Toronto. According to a long-time resident, the two Univacs that regulate most of the city's 870 traffic signals do a pretty good job of speeding traffic. The best measure of this, he says, is how big the traffic jams get when one of the computers breaks down.

But many U.S. cities will not vote money for the computer approach until the congestion problem gets much worse, even though there will in all probability be substantial sums of federal money made available on a matching basis in a few years.

#### ELECTRONIC ROUTE

The really big breakthrough will come out of a combination of exclusive lanes and computer controls—with an important addition: Control equipment will have to be installed inside the vehicle. When congestion becomes intolerable in another five to 10 years, this electronic solution may well be made mandatory.

In the probable chain of events, a few test highway lanes will be equipped with electronic devices to control vehicle speed. At first, only big buses will have the necessary hardware to operate in a controlled lane. The large bus has the same drawback, though to a lesser degree, as the rapid transit vehicle. It does not have enough flexibility in picking up and delivering passengers; its customers must go to it, instead of the other way around.

In time, therefore, six- to 10-passenger vehicles will circulate in bedroom communities, probably picking up passengers on call and then going to the nearest access to a controlled highway. There, they will be locked into a high-speed traffic flow, con-

trolled from without the vehicle, that will carry them to the appropriate exit.

Eventually, private autos will be equipped to take advantage of the system. But few people think this will be widespread within the next 10 years.

#### FREIGHT FLOW

The system also will accommodate trucks. Probably within the Seventies, the 40-ft. truck trailer will have to be outlawed from some downtown city streets. (If political laws do not do the job, economic laws will.) Highway tractors will pull two, three or possibly even more shorter trailers over an expanded interstate highway network. On arrival at a terminal on the outskirts of a city, the highway tractor will drop one "train" and pick up another.

The trailers will be assigned to smaller tractors equipped with the electronic control devices needed to use the controlled highway lanes. This way the flow of goods to and from widely scattered suburban and exurban shopping centers and factories will continue with the reliability required for smooth inventory control.

For the railroad industry, which could do much to alleviate congestion on the roads, the early part of the 1970s will be a turning point. Within the past few years, service and profitability have deteriorated. Many railroad presidents are of the opinion that the rate of decline is quickening.

If management, labor, and the government do not succeed in changing conditions in a very few years, the industry will be nationalized within the next decade. "God knows, we aren't reaching out for it," said a high government official last week. "But I'm awfully afraid it's going to be forced on us."

The problems of air traffic congestion above the biggest cities today are similar to those on the highways and streets, and so are the solutions that will evolve during the Seventies.

What is planned for airplanes is, first, to get a far more accurate idea of where they are in the sky, both vertically and horizontally and then map out where each is going. Computers will plot courses that avoid collisions, and the information will move instantly, continuously, and automatically to control towers. Thus, a great many more airplanes will fit into the same amount of sky than is possible today.

Full operation of this system is at least 10 years away, however. To make it work, it will be essential that all planes entering such controlled airspace come equipped with very sophisticated and very expensive electronics. The occasional flyer is not going to like it, and if he cannot afford the equipment, he will have to stay out. Even with the best electronic gear, corporate jets are going to lose some of their appeal as the skies become more crowded and delays make travel plans less reliable.

Not so long ago, many seers predicted that as communications improved—with data transmission, picture telephones, and the like—there would be less need for travel. It has not yet worked out that way. But if transportation becomes harder and more uncertain, and corrective steps are not taken, Ma Bell's "next best thing to being there" will become far better than trying to get there.

#### A VOTER'S OPTIONS

#### HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, the right of the people to assemble peaceably is guaranteed by the first amendment. Civil disobedience, however, such as seizing

buildings by force and disrupting traffic, clearly infringes upon the rights of others.

Ours is admittedly an imperfect society, but violating the law is neither a proper nor effective way of solving America's problems.

An editorial in the Reading Times of Saturday, December 6, written by editorial board member Harry Glover, explains in a brief and readable manner the various avenues of peaceful protest. I commend this editorial to my colleagues and to all Americans, and insert it in the RECORD at this point:

#### A VOTER'S OPTIONS

One way to let the government in Washington know you don't like what it is doing is to stage lie-downs on the street or in somebody's office, or to go around waving a Viet Cong flag.

Then there is another way—the better way, we suggest.

To point out how this second way works, let us take the resolution passed this week by the U.S. House of Representatives, 333 to 55, endorsing President Nixon's efforts to conclude the conflict in Vietnam.

This is a highly controversial issue, and many of the electorate are not going to like, for one reason or another, the decision by the House to back Nixon's endeavors. Any citizen has a right to be against it, of course.

And if he doesn't agree with what his representative in the House did, he has a choice of ways to let his congressman know. He can write a letter. He can get up a petition and seek signatures, and send the petition to Washington. Or he can go to Washington and see his congressman, if he has the time and the money.

These are civilized ways of doing it. We are not proposing these courses of action because we are against the resolution (our stand has been to give Nixon a chance to see what he can do), but because we want to remind voters that there are better ways of trying to persuade a congressman than by trying to harass him, or intimidate him through showier tactics than a letter or a conversation.

#### LETTER FROM A FATHER

#### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of my three trips to Vietnam, I was flown about the combat area by a Maj. Samuel Hopper who was the personal pilot for General Westmoreland. He is one of the finest officers I have known, and his son Bobby has taken up flying helicopters in Vietnam where his dad left off upon his retirement.

Unknown to him, Major Hopper's wife has forwarded to me a copy of a letter which he wrote to his son in Vietnam on the occasion of Veterans' Day and I would like to share it with the Members of this body, as I think it is a typical American masterpiece:

NOVEMBER 11, 1969.

DEAR SON: Well son, today is Veterans Day. I'd like to be able to say something profound, new, and different to you and Chuck and Billy. But, I suppose all of the fancy phrases have been put together long ago, by men more clever than I. So all that remains, is for me to try to express my deepest gratitude to each of you for your willingness to

become a Veteran. Your willingness to serve your country at a time when the Vociferous Minority seems to be in control. But let me assure each of you that this is a deception that I've known about for a long time. I think I may have realized it first when as a young man in World War II, I was strengthened by the courage of other young men who were as afraid as I, yet they persisted. They—no, we persisted even though there were those who were not in tune with the then, current, national policy. Yes, we persisted, and you were born free.

You were all too young to know of the turmoil created by our National Policy during the Korean Conflict. But the Hue and Cry was on and our National Leaders were disected on the chopping block of world opinion—but we persisted, and you remained free.

You grew up leisurely, like little kittens in a warm loft of hay. The hardships you have known were simulated on the campus of the Air Force Academy, the dust and heat of El Paso and San Antonio and the swamps of Alabama and Georgia. You bet your sweet bippie those simulated hardships seemed real, I have experienced them all. But, they were simulated, for you knew that if you ever faltered, there would be immediate help available. You and I have never known the harshness of a prison compound or a refugee camp for displaced persons. But before I lose you in a flurry of reminiscent phraseology let me say it is not the purpose of this letter to chide you for having been born free, but rather to gently remind you that your legacy has been paid for. But another advance payment is due, so that one day each of you might sit down and address a letter, "Dear Son."

Now I have come to the real purpose of this letter. I want to thank you for picking up the ball that I had carried as far as I could—the one inscribed: Duty, Honor, Country. I would usually close by saying, "Love, Dad" but on this Veterans Day, I'll say.

Respectfully yours,

Maj. SAMUEL L. HOPPER,  
U.S. Air Force, retired.

ADDRESS BY UNDER SECRETARY  
OF STATE ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.  
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, in a remarkably cogent address to the regional conference on foreign policy in Los Angeles, the Honorable Elliot L. Richardson, Under Secretary of State, recently addressed himself to the subject of United States-Soviet relations.

And while it is true that the Under Secretary said a lot of the usual things we have become accustomed to hearing from State Department officials, he also said some things that we are not used to hearing from State Department officials and it was these remarks that I found exceptionally refreshing.

For example:

Under Secretary Richardson pointed out that U.S. doubts and concerns about the Soviet Union that have characterized our post-war policies have not been conjured up in dread of some phantom but in response to palpable Communist threats and initiatives. The areas against which these aggressive moves came, or where harshly threatened, sound a grimly familiar litany—Iran, Greece, Turkey,

Czechoslovakia, Berlin, Korea and Hungary."

While the United States is more than willing to meet the Soviet Union halfway, the Under Secretary explained:

We cannot—until new evidence is upon us—allow ourselves to forget past manifestations of Soviet aggressiveness.

Other examples of Soviet recalcitrance and seeming reluctance to reduce tensions cited by Mr. Richardson were:

Vietnam: Although North Vietnam is not the puppet of the Soviet Union, it was noted:

They are the single most supplier of aid. Unfortunately, there is little to indicate that they have exerted any significant influence on North Vietnam to negotiate an end to this tragic conflict.

Laos: Despite the 1962 agreement that Laos would be neutral, there are North Vietnamese troops—some 40,000—in that country. Mr. Richardson asks:

Is the Soviet government willing to help Laos maintain its neutrality?

Middle East: The Under Secretary said:

The issue here is whether the Soviets will give sufficient priority to the long-term advantages of a genuine Arab-Israeli settlement or will instead focus on short-run gains that could only be swept away by another Arab-Israeli war.

All things considered, it is a good speech, and I include it in the RECORD and recommend my colleagues read it.

The State Department may not be as cleaned out as some of us might like it to be, but since we have taken over the rhetoric has improved; a considerable accomplishment in itself. The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

In one of the Disraeli novels there appears a character described as being "distinguished for ignorance; for he had only one idea and that was wrong." The character's name, curiously enough, was Mr. Kremlin.<sup>1</sup>

In the post World War II world our view of the goals of Communist governments, most particularly our view of the intentions of the Soviet state, has so dominated the direction of American foreign policy that those who disagree with that view have been ready to apply Disraeli's description of Mr. Kremlin to the entire policy.

Because our estimate of the potential for constructive relations with the Soviet Union is central to our entire international posture, any change in our assessment of this potential is bound to have wide significance. Indeed, this may well be the reason why the most quoted and most interpreted of all of President Nixon's statements since he took office has been the memorable passage in his Inaugural Address in which he said "After a period of confrontation we are entering an era of negotiation. Let all nations know that during this Administration our lines of communication will be open."

Our lines of communication are open. During the past nine months we have talked with the Soviet Union and with other Communist bloc nations on a large number of subjects. We have conferred with the Soviets about Vietnam, unfortunately with little effect, and have had a series of talks on the Middle East which we hope will be productive in leading the nations of the area toward a settlement.

This week an especially significant aspect of the new "era of negotiation" opened in Helsinki with the beginning of preliminary discussions on the limitation of strategic arms.

The current talks are probably the most critical negotiations on disarmament that the United States has ever undertaken, and we approach them—to use Secretary Rogers' phrase—"in sober and serious determination."

As the President himself put it: "There is no more important task before us. We must," he said, "make a determined effort not only to limit the build-up of strategic arms, but to reverse it."

Success would not only mean a great stride forward in the cause of disarmament generally, but would be accompanied by significant economic benefits. Strategic weapons systems have been costing us some eight billion dollars a year to purchase and maintain, and these costs are increasing. In bringing this enormously expensive and unproductive competition to an end, large sums in both countries could be diverted to other uses. Since the Soviet Union spends a greater proportion of its national product on strategic weapons than we do, we have good reason to hope that this incentive for strategic arms limitations is at least as important to them.

Success in these talks, then, seems clearly in the interest of both nations and presents both with exciting opportunities. In addition to the immediate material benefits, it would help to bring about a beneficial, if still only partial, unravelling of the skein of suspicion that has enveloped relations between us for a quarter of a century.

The doubts and concerns that have characterized our postwar view of the Soviet government are, unlike Disraeli's Mr. Kremlin, hardly "distinguished for ignorance." They were not conjured up in dread of some phantom but in response to palpable communist threats and initiatives. The areas against which these aggressive moves came, or where harshly threatened, sound a grimly familiar litany—Iran, Greece, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Berlin, Korea, Hungary.

Nor were NATO and the other structures of defense and world order that we joined in erecting built merely as an excuse for maintaining an American presence abroad. The United States—contrary to Marxist dogma—had no need, desire, or intention of spreading influence or empire. We withdrew our troops following the second World War and returned them overseas only at the request of friendly nations which felt endangered. Our world-wide system of alliances was constructed in the face of a real, not an imaginary threat.

If we are prompted to recall this melancholy history now, it is not to reopen old wounds, nor to deny that our actions, though not so designed, might have been perceived as threatening by the Soviets. It is rather to remind a new generation—and ourselves—that we had reason for our caution. And now, even as possibilities present themselves for a lessening of tensions, it is prudent once again to examine coldly the total realities of the bargaining situation. The era of confrontation has left a complex inheritance of problems, alignments, and alliances which cannot be sorted out or changed overnight. Change will require hard, realistic, and—invariably—protracted bargaining. For international negotiating is always a tough and difficult business, and those who sit across the table from us are no more eager than we to lose any advantages.

So as we seek to exploit as fully as we can any opening for meaningful negotiation, we must at the same time take advantage of opportunities to probe carefully and meticulously for fresh evidence indicating whether or not we can safely moderate our previous fears and doubts about Soviet intentions.

In viewing the Soviet government today

<sup>1</sup> Sybil (1845) Book IV Chapter V



some are naturally more skeptical of evidence of its amenability to an era of negotiation than others. A wide shading of interpretation is possible. At the two poles, and perhaps somewhat overstated and oversimplified, the interpretations run something like this:

Interpretation one hypothesizes that basic Soviet attitudes are little changed and that the threat to our security is not significantly diminished. Those who propound this view point to the continuing and accelerating build-up of Soviet military strength, to the spread of Soviet power into the Mediterranean and Middle East, to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and subversion of its government, to Soviet support of Hanoi in its evident desire to take over South Viet-Nam. They see the continuation of Stalinist harassment and persecution of Soviet writers and intellectuals, the political trials and suppression of dissent, as evidence of a regime which is inherently authoritarian and aggressive, no matter what its ideological cast. They believe that basic to this authoritarianism is a fear of contamination by progressive tendencies both within the Soviet Union itself and in neighboring countries and a consequent need to extinguish such tendencies whenever they emerge. And they fear that a leadership basically isolated from public response is more liable to follow dangerous and adventurist policies.

This interpretation also urges us to take Soviet ideological pronouncements at face value and not dismiss them as ritualistic Marxist rhetoric. It would take, for example, the statement adopted on June 17 of this year by the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, which met in Moscow under the auspices of the Soviet Communist Party, as indicating that Soviet intentions are as inimical as ever. Among other things, that long and turgid document said: "To curb the aggressors and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism."

Interpretation two, on the other hand, would read such polemics only as window dressing intended to proclaim Marxist-Leninist legitimacy. According to this view, actual Soviet policies bear little resemblance to official ideology. Those who espouse this interpretation see Soviet policies as having moderated greatly since the death of Stalin and believe the Soviets now display a genuine willingness to reach accommodations with us on issues on which we have common or parallel interests. The Soviet Union, they feel, no longer pursues expansionist ambitions; on the contrary, its posture appears primarily oriented toward protecting the security of the motherland. Soviet military strength is maintained at least partially in response to the military strength of the U.S. and our alliances.

Those who put this interpretation forward think the Soviet government, if only by necessity, is willing to allow a certain diversity among the countries close to its border. Though it is not a democracy, they believe it is still necessary for it to be responsive to the popular will of its people and that this fact is causing it to moderate its policies. For this reason, too, the Soviet government is held to be preoccupied with domestic affairs—with problems of agricultural organization and growing consumer demands.

Soviet society is pictured as conservative and essentially bourgeois in outlook, with all the cultural and artistic adventurism of George G. Babbitt. The ruling party bureaucracy, as seen by this interpretation, is like all entrenched bureaucracies, cautious, unimaginative, and a little dull, the Soviet leadership, since it is largely a product of the bureaucracy, is similarly gray, cautious, and devoted to the status quo. In sum, this view holds that as practical needs have become more insistent, Communist ideological fervor

has waned. The Soviet leadership is viewed, like Candide, as increasingly content to cultivate its own garden.

The truth, of course, may simply be that both portraits of the Soviet Union are facets of the same reality, seen through different eyes. On the face of things, indeed, neither wholly excludes the other: No government, and certainly no government in a nation as large as the Soviet Union, can be entirely monolithic—monolithic, that is, in the sense of being free from divergent and competing interests, forces, or views. Thus, when we speak of "Soviet intentions," we obviously do not mean to imply that these remain static. The Soviet Union, we know, has its own hawks and doves, its hard-liners and soft-liners. It has its scientists and intellectuals who are quietly pressing for more freedom, as well as its Stalinists who favor greater repression, and through the shifting and coming to influence of different elements and personalities is forged the amalgam of its policies and intentions.

For us, of course, the importance of trends in Soviet life and government lies in their significance for Soviet attitudes and intentions toward the outside world. And on this score new and important evidence can be obtained through negotiations whose objective is the concrete resolution of those specific issues which continue to embody the risk of confrontation or to enhance the danger of its consequences. Such negotiations, whatever their outcome, can thus serve the wider purpose of testing the prospects for a more stable and peaceful world. Progress will come only through the concrete resolution of specific issues which continue to disturb international tranquility.

In this, we are more than willing to meet the Soviet Union half way. The entire drive and approach of this Administration is designed to bring about movement in the solution of outstanding issues and the growth of international understanding. While we cannot—until new evidence is upon us—allow ourselves to forget past manifestations of Soviet aggressiveness, we are eager to put the accent on the future rather than the past, to stress our joint opportunities rather than our old divisions.

"I believe we must take risks for peace," President Nixon has said, "but calculated risks, not foolish risks." It is in this spirit that we have entered the talks on strategic arms and the other discussions in which we have been engaged.

It is in this spirit that the President emphasized at Guam that the job of countering insurgency in the field will hereinafter have to be conducted by the government concerned, making use of its popular support, and with the nature of our assistance depending on the realities of the particular situation. And it is in this spirit also that the President has changed the pattern of the Viet-Nam war by beginning the process of turning our share of the fighting over to the South Vietnamese and withdrawing American ground forces.

Underlying these steps is a fresh approach to, and a new implementation of, the traditional American desire to let peoples and nations determine their own destinies. President Nixon recently articulated our guiding principle, which, while stated in the context of the Western Hemisphere, is equally applicable elsewhere. Our approach, he said, is to "respect . . . national identity and national dignity in a partnership in which rights and responsibilities are shared by a community of independent states."

We seek, then, a structure of world order based on the independence and equality of states; we do not seek ideological domination or confrontation. We care less about the ordering of a nation's economy or even its political structure than we do about the evidence it presents to us about its willingness to live in peace with its neighbors.

What is all this evidence that I keep talk-

ing about? What specific moves do we think the Soviet government can make to reduce tensions? What tensions are in question? Let me briefly outline some of the areas and issues in which progress can be made.

First, there is Viet-Nam. Over eighteen months ago the South Vietnamese government and the United States entered negotiations in Paris with the hope of reaching an agreement that would bring the fighting to an end. For a long time the Soviet government had told us that, once these negotiations began, such a settlement should be possible. After a beginning in which there were some signs of progress, the talks ground to a standstill last spring. We continue to hope that these talks will succeed and are still looking for opportunities to move them forward.

Although the Soviets do not control North Viet-Nam, as the single most important supplier of aid to North Viet-Nam, they undoubtedly exercise much leverage. Unfortunately, there is little to indicate that they have exerted any significant influence on the North Vietnamese to negotiate an end to this tragic conflict. Are we then to believe that the Soviet government is encouraging Hanoi to reject a negotiated solution and to continue the effort to impose its will on the people of South Viet-Nam?

There is Laos. In 1962 we agreed with the Soviet Union and twelve other states that Laos should be neutral. But North Vietnamese troops in conjunction with the Communist Pathet Lao continue to threaten the government of Premier Souvanna Phouma. Is the Soviet government willing to help Laos maintain its neutrality?

The Middle East, on which we have been engaged in intensive talks with the Soviet, is another area where their actions will provide important indices of their intentions. For the situation in the Middle East today is so emotional and so explosive that a failure by the great powers to act firmly and responsibly in support of United Nations' efforts could mean yet another war in the area and perhaps even a wider catastrophe. The issue here is whether the Soviets will give sufficient priority to the long-term advantages of a genuine Arab-Israeli settlement or will instead focus on short-run gains that could only be swept away by another Arab-Israeli war.

Soviet attitudes on the development of firmer foundations for peace and stability in Europe will prove another key to their basic willingness to reduce tensions. The Soviet government has recently proposed the convocation of a European Security Conference. But when they reached the point of suggesting what such a conference might do, they and their Warsaw Pact colleagues avoided concrete issues and put forward only vague suggestions.

We and our NATO allies are more than ready, of course, to do our part in solving the manifold and complex problems which for so long have divided Europe. But we are convinced that the way to go about it is through dealing directly, through whatever forum or procedure is most appropriate to the subject, with the issues that generate tension. A Europe-wide conference might fittingly climax, but cannot substitute for this painstaking process.

A beginning might be made by improving the situation in and around Berlin, including access to the city. We have, along with the British and French governments, suggested this to the Soviet Union and are prepared to go forward with such a discussion. An even more important opportunity for East-West negotiation is the subject of mutual and balanced force reductions. Certainly progress on the reducing of forces would significantly contribute to reducing tensions in Europe. We are working with our allies to develop specific negotiating proposals and will be pursuing the issue further at the NATO Ministerial Meeting later this month.

These are only some of the areas and issues on which tensions can be lowered—though perhaps they are the most important. Each is a part of an interrelated whole and each constitutes a test—for both the United States and the Soviet Union. Can we reach agreements which will contribute to the achievement of a lasting peace? We are determined to seek the answers, cautiously, but also with patience and determination.

After all, why should we not be able to settle the disputes that divide us? There are no quarrels of the traditional sort between us, no disputes over territory, no competition for trade. There is no historic enmity between our peoples.

The aims and ambitions of our peoples seem, in fact very similar—to live and prosper, to educate our children, to build our communities free of the threat of war and destruction.

There seems no final reason why this could not be so.

Having begun with a quotation from a Disraeli novel, it seems fitting to end with one.

"Man is not the creature of circumstances," the British Prime Minister wrote, "Circumstances are the creatures of men."<sup>2</sup> If this indeed be so, then it becomes our peculiar obligation to mold those circumstances so that all nations, large and small, can live in peace together.

## BANNING THE USE OF DDT IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 8, 1969

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, as sponsor of legislation, H.R. 13340, to ban the use of DDT in the United States by June 30, 1970, I am among those concerned with the threat to our environment posed by this "uninvited additive." I am happy to see steps by our Government to curb the use of DDT and hope that with enlightened policies we can reverse the contamination by this pesticide as well as by herbicides which have been found to induce birth deformations.

Our use of herbicides and defoliants has been especially hazardous to health in Vietnam, where there have been extensive reports of birth defects among children whose mothers were exposed to defoliants used by the United States in connection with the war. I feel that this practice should be stopped immediately.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I include at this point in the RECORD an article from the November 21, 1969, issue of *Science* which outlines these dangers:

ENVIRONMENT: FOCUS ON DDT, THE "UNINVITED ADDITIVE"

Since mid-October, the federal government has ordered a halt in production of the artificially sweetening cyclamates and announced timetables for restricting use of the herbicide 2,4,5-T and the pesticide DDT. In each instance, disturbing results of laboratory tests on animals had preceded the announcements, but the most obvious common factor in the three cases seems to have been growing public concern about environmental hazards.

The outburst of official activity served to focus attention on the difficulties of determining long-term effects on humans of

chemicals introduced into the environment. And the government finds itself faced with serious questions about the adequacy of testing procedures and of the machinery for setting "tolerance" levels for chemicals.

The most important pronouncement was the one on DDT. It called, in effect, for a phasing out of most domestic uses of the pesticide over a 2-year period. DDT is the particular target of conservationists because of its persistence in the food chain, but it is widely relied on for its relatively low cost and its vast contribution to the control of disease and the production of food.

### THE DELANEY AMENDMENT

In purely legal terms, the banning of cyclamates involved the most clearcut decision. Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Robert H. Finch ordered cyclamate production halted after lab tests indicated that cyclamates caused cancer in the bladders of rats exposed to amounts of cyclamates equivalent to about 50 times the normal dose. To do so he invoked the food additive amendment of the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act. This amendment, sponsored by Representative James J. Delaney (D-N.Y.) and passed in 1958, provides that "no additive shall be deemed to be safe if it is found to induce cancer when ingested by man or animal, or it is found, after tests which are appropriate for the evaluation of the safety of food additives, to induce cancer in man or animals. . . ."

At the time Finch made a point of saying that no evidence had been advanced that cyclamates caused cancer in humans, but he was acting "because it is imperative to follow a prudent course in all matters concerning public health."

The action on 2,4,5-T followed the report of findings (see story which follows) that offspring of mice and rats given large doses of the herbicide while pregnant showed a relatively large number of deformities at birth. Presidential science adviser Lee A. DuBridge, in announcing a series of government actions to restrict use of 2,4,5-T, said that "while the relationships of these effects on laboratory animals to effects on man are not entirely clear at this time, the actions taken will assure safety of the public while further evidence is sought." One step taken was a Defense Department order to restrict use of the herbicide, which has been heavily used as a defoliant in Vietnam, to "areas remote from the population," a move that may well have been hastened by a desire to forestall possible charges that the United States was waging chemical warfare against pregnant women in Southeast Asia.

Domestic regulation of pesticides is based on the registration provisions of the Pesticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act originally passed in 1947 and administered by the Department of Agriculture. When a proposed use of a pesticide will result in residues on or in food or feed crops, registration which makes the sale of the chemical legal will not be granted until a "tolerance level" has been established. The task of determining a safe level is delegated to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in HEW.

The FDA's responsibilities are set forth in a pesticide chemical amendment of the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act which provides for the seizure and destruction of agricultural commodities that contain pesticide residue in excess of established tolerances. The burden of proof of safety has rested primarily on manufacturers, who must present convincing evidence of laboratory testing programs when they wish to market a new chemical.

Critics of the system say that one major flaw is that there is no group that monitors what's already on the market. They also complain that emphasis in testing has been placed primarily on establishing acute toxicity levels and that long-range chronic effects

on humans of low doses (particularly of persistent chemicals like DDT) have been relatively ignored.

Establishing long-term effects of chemical residues is, of course, acknowledged to be very difficult. An analogy exists with the problems of determining biological effects of various levels and kinds of radiation. But experts say that it is probably easier to obtain quantitative results on biological effects of radiation than on chemicals because of the changes chemicals cause inside the body. For example, the behavior of breakdown products, synergistic effects, and variation in the bacterial population inside the bodies of different individuals could all affect the results. And obviously, most testing on humans is precluded.

### ADVANCE IN TECHNOLOGY

Although it is still impossible to provide scientific proof of the long-term effects of chemicals such as DDT, advances in technology in recent years have made it possible to detect minute traces of DDT and other chemicals in food and in animal and human tissues (2,4,5-T, incidentally, seems to be regarded as nonresidual in humans).

This new capacity to detect the presence of chemical substances like DDT and recent research results that show DDT in large doses producing cancer in laboratory animals have caused some to ask why the Delaney amendment should not be applied to DDT, which former Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall has called "the uninvited additive."

One study of carcinogenic effects of pesticides and industrial chemicals that gained wide notice last spring was commissioned by the National Cancer Institute and done under contract by Bionetics Laboratories. A "preliminary note" on "tumorigenicity in mice" was published in the June issue of the *Cancer Institute's Journal*. But the study had attracted attention earlier, and an "interim report" had even been inserted in the *Congressional Record* for 1 May by Senator Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.). The researchers reported that 11 of the 120 compounds tested induced a "significantly elevated incidence of tumors, mostly hepatomas."

One of the researchers involved in the study said that there had been debate within the group on whether to use the word "tumorigenic" or "carcinogenic." R. R. Bates, a National Cancer Institute researcher on the project said in an interview with Bryce Nelson, former member of the *Science* news staff, "I would use the word carcinogenicity. I am no longer satisfied with the word we used." The journal article did point out that the use of the word hepatomas (liver tumors) "should not be considered as implying that these tumors are benign."

The background to the government's initiatives on DDT is too complex to analyze in detail, but actions by states and foreign governments this year (*Science*, 23 May) probably created some momentum. Last spring, shortly after the government found it necessary to seize a quantity of coho salmon in Michigan because of elevated concentrations of DDT, Secretary Finch appointed a Commission on Pesticides and Their Relationship to Environmental Health. Chairman of the commission is Emil M. Mrak, a former chancellor of the University of California at Davis and a food scientist of wide reputation. Membership is drawn mostly from among recognized university experts with a ballast of government representative. HEW provided the staff.

The commission undertook a broad review

<sup>1</sup> These 11 compounds include 5 insecticides: *p,p'*-DDT, Mirex, bis(chloroethyl)-ether, Chlorobenzilate, and Strobane; five fungicides: PCNB, Avadex, ethyl selenac, ethylene thiourea, and bis(2-hydroxyethyl)-dithiocarbamic acid potassium salt; and the herbicide *N*-(hydroxyethyl)hydrazine.

<sup>2</sup> Vivian Grey (1826) Book VI, Chapter VII.



of the research on active pesticide chemicals used in the United States. Only the first section of the report containing recommendations and summaries has been released; details of the study will follow in Part II and will include the findings of advisory panels on carcinogenesis, interactions, mutagenesis, and teratogenesis.

The commission asked that DDT and DDD be restricted "within two years to those uses essential to preservation of human health and welfare and approved unanimously" by the secretaries of HEW, Agriculture, and Interior. On this point and in its recommendations generally, the commission tactfully phrased their recommendations in a way that gives Finch and Agriculture Secretary Clifford M. Hardin room to maneuver. The commission found "adequate evidence concerning potential hazards to our environment and to man's health to require corrective action." But in the covering letter to Finch, Mrak writes in behalf of the commission, "Chemicals, including pesticides used to increase food production, are of such importance in modern life that we must learn to live with them."

The commission, in fact, makes several suggestions which affect administrative rather than scientific problems, including a recommendation that the Delaney amendment be altered so that the HEW secretary would be permitted to "determine when evidence of carcinogenesis justifies restrictive action concerning food containing analytically detectable traces of pesticides."

Finch's own view is expressed in this excerpt from the statement to the press when he made his DDT announcement of 12 November.

"The Delaney Amendment was conceived in high purpose and has served a useful function. The Department's General Counsel has pointed out that the Delaney Amendment does not apply to pesticide chemical residues in raw agricultural commodities or in foods processed from lawful crops. Nor does it apply to the unavoidable environmental contamination of foods. The unbelievably sophisticated and sensitive measuring devices now in the skilled hands of our laboratory technicians can measure one twentieth part of one unit in a billion. Measurement techniques have improved 1000-fold since the Delaney Amendment was enacted eleven years ago. If the Delaney Amendment, as it is now written, were to be strictly enforced for pesticide residues it would convert us to a nation of vegetarians. Much of our red meat, many dairy products, some eggs, fowl and fish—all parts of basic food groups deemed necessary to a balanced diet—would be outlawed because of very small pesticide residues from the ecological chain."

What appears to be shaping up is a battle over the issue of "zero tolerance" for DDT—in effect, a ban on the pesticide.

Aligned against those who take Finch's view are conservationists and scientists active in the cause of environmental protection. They regard DDT as a primary enemy because of its persistence in the food chain. To justify their apocalyptic vision they cite the damage to some species of animals, birds, and fish that has already been traced to DDT and the ominous reports of tests on lab animals.

Proponents of a zero tolerance level for DDT argue that Agriculture Secretary Hardin should immediately order that DDT be "de-registered," since the law provides for administrative review procedures which will allow manufacturers, in practice, to gain long delays while the scientific case on DDT is examined. The environmentalists are better organized and increasingly sophisticated in their tactics these days, as was shown by the recent petition of four conservation groups for government action against DDT (*Science*, 7 November). Whether they will

now go to court to press their point probably depends on what action Hardin takes.

Still unsettled, of course, are the arguments as to whether carcinogenesis is "dose related" and whether causing cancer in small animals with a chemical substance proves there is real danger for humans. It will be interesting to note if more light is thrown on these questions by Part II of the Mrak report, particularly by the comments of the panel on carcinogenesis.

Other practical questions seem to defy categorical answers. Farmers, particularly in the cotton belt, are reportedly worried about finding a replacement pesticide that matches DDT's long-lasting, broad-spectrum action and its low cost. Partisans of DDT argue that studies by the World Health Organization show there is no practical substitute for DDT in malaria control in underdeveloped countries. The question of whether DDT might be replaced by biological controls or other pesticides or by a combination of these elicits conflicting answers from responsible scientists. And these conflicts help to explain the difficulty of carrying out a satisfactory risk-benefit analysis of DDT use.

Establishing or disproving long-term effects of chemical exposure—whether it be the carcinogenic effects of tobacco or DDT, teratogenic effects of 2,4,5-T, or the genetic effects of LSD—has become one of the troublesome scientific-political problems of the day. Secretary Finch has shown a greater willingness to deal with the problem than did his predecessors, but his performance can be judged only by the advice he gets and the advice he follows in the coming months.

#### HERBICIDES: ORDER ON 2,4,5-T ISSUED AT UNUSUALLY HIGH LEVEL

White House science adviser Lee A. DuBridge took the highly unusual action on 29 October of announcing partial curtailment of the use of a herbicide—2,4,5-T (2,4,5-trichlorophenoxyacetic acid). Although this defoliant is widely used in the United States, its most controversial application is on plant life in Vietnam. The decision was taken quickly after the attention of the White House was called to scientific studies indicating that there was strong evidence that herbicides such as 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D (2,4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid) caused birth malformations in animals.

The herbicide industry was taken completely by surprise by the White House announcement. The reason for the abrupt governmental action seems to be that members of the scientific community had warned the government that the results of these scientific studies would soon become widely known and would result in a torrent of criticism because of the intensive use of these herbicides in Vietnam.

A substantial group of scientists has long tried to reduce the widespread application of herbicides in Vietnam. For the past 3 years, the AAAS Board of Directors and the AAAS Council have tried to force extensive scientific studies on this subject. For the most part, these requests have been met with Defense Department stalling. In the past, the primary worry of scientists has been that extensive use of herbicides in Vietnam would cause highly detrimental effects to Vietnamese forests and crops and would disrupt the ecological balance of the country. This recent study commissioned by the National Cancer Institute is the first substantial evidence of harmful effects to animal life, which, of course, also raises the question of possible danger to humans.

In this as yet unreleased study, two compounds, 2,4,5-T and PCNB (pentachloronitrobenzene), were called "probably dangerous" and were judged worthy of condemnation because their administration caused in-

creased fetal malformations in mice and rats. The study was done by Bionetics Research Laboratories of suburban Washington, D.C.

Several compounds were labeled as having "potentially dangerous" teratogenic (fetus-deforming) effects but as "needing further study." These are: 2,4-D (isooctyl ester), Captan, piperonyl butoxide, ethyl carbamate, ethylenimine, Amitrol, and 2,4-dichlorophenol. Seven other herbicides were classified as adversely affecting fetal development but were termed "probably not teratogenic."

One Yale biologist, Arthur W. Galston, a critic of herbicide use in Vietnam who has examined these data with the aid of several scientist colleagues, has estimated that human beings in Vietnam could possibly ingest 50 or more milligrams of 2,4,5-T or 2,4-D per day per kilogram of body weight by drinking water from rain-fed cisterns and ponds exposed to aerial spraying.

#### A HAZARD SUGGESTED

"There is a possibility that the use of herbicides in Vietnam is causing birth malformations among infants of exposed mothers. . . . It cannot be said that the margin for safety is adequate," Galston said in an interview. "Although the laboratory tests do not prove that 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D are able to cause birth malformations in humans at the dose levels experienced in Vietnam, the tests do suggest this possibility. While individual exposure to these chemicals in the United States is lower than in Vietnam, it too may represent a hazard."

A Yale embryologist, Clement L. Markert, chairman of the Yale biology department, agrees, saying that "there is no question about 2,4,5-T; it certainly showed a high order of toxicity." Markert, who has also examined the study, said that "the concentration is real in Vietnam" and posed "an unacceptable risk" to the people of Vietnam. Markert, who said he was "basically very offended about its [2,4,5-T] continued use," added that, even if the heavy concentrations used in Vietnam did not cause overt malformations in children, they could lead to hidden malformations such as a lessening of brain capacity.

Some scientists interviewed were also offended by the continued use of 2,4-D, one of the compounds listed as having "potentially dangerous" teratogenic effects. After having praised the White House for its partial curtailment of the use of 2,4,5-T, Galston warned that the "danger from 2,4-D is so great that more extensive tests are needed."

The herbicide 2,4-D presents a more difficult problem than 2,4,5-T for governmental decision-making. It is much more widely used, both in Vietnam and in the United States. In this country, 2,4-D is one of the six best-selling pesticides with annual sales of more than \$25 million. In this country, 2,4-D is used on corn and wheat, whereas 2,4,5-T is used as a pasture herbicide and for brush control and clearance of rights-of-way. In high-level negotiations U.S. military leaders reportedly fought hard to prevent any curtailment in the use of 2,4-D. The White House also had reason to expect a much more significant protest from U.S. pesticide producers and agricultural interests if it had acted against 2,4-D.

Last summer, several South Vietnamese newspapers printed photographs and stories about deformed South Vietnamese babies. The stories generally related an increase in defects to the American presence in South Vietnam; some specifically attributed such defects to the defoliation program.

DuBridge announced that the Defense Department would hereafter restrict the use of 2,4,5-T "to areas remote from population." One knowledgeable scientist interviewed pointed out that this loosely worded directive probably would still permit spraying of extensive vegetated areas. Another exclaimed,

"There aren't really any large areas in Vietnam which are remote from population!"

The ambiguity of the White House statement was revealed later when the Defense Department said that no change would be made in the policy governing use of 2,4,5-T because the Defense Department felt that its present policy conformed to the White House directive.

However, according to an article by Washington Post reporter Richard Homan, an early Pentagon explanation differed markedly from a latter written version. The early version stated that 2,4,5-T was used against enemy "training and regroupment centers." This statement, the Post reported, was expunged after a reporter asked how such usage was compatible with the directive against the use of 2,4,5-T in populated areas.

In other actions related to 2,4,5-T, DuBridge announced:

That the Agriculture Department will cancel registrations of 2,4,5-T for food crops effective 1 January unless the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has found a basis for establishing a safe legal tolerance in and on foods.

That the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior will stop using 2,4,5-T in their own programs in populated areas or where the residue from use could otherwise reach man.

That the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will complete action on a petition requesting that a finite tolerance be established for 2,4,5-T residues on foods prior to 1 January.

DuBridge, a physicist, added: "It seems improbable that any person could receive harmful amounts of this chemical from any of the existing uses of 2,4,5-T and, while the relationships of these effects in laboratory animals to effects in man are not entirely clear at this time, the actions taken will assure safety of the public while further evidence is being sought."

#### USE IN VIETNAM

DuBridge said that 2,4,5-T had helped save lives in Vietnam. He also added that almost no 2,4,5-T was used by home gardeners or in residential areas. (This statement seems to be in error. A spokesman for the Monsanto Company in St. Louis, one of the manufacturers of 2,4,5-T, indicated that combinations of 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D were widely used on residential lawns in this country.)

In the Biometrics study of the effects of 2,4,5-T on mice, there was an increased incidence of abnormal fetuses, regardless of the dosages, routes, and strains of mice used, except in the case of the lowest dosage used, 21.5 milligrams per kilogram of body weight. Outside scientists, who have studied the experiments in which 2,4,5-T was given to rats, find these data especially striking: In comparison to the usual proportion of abnormal fetuses (7 to 13 percent), a dosage of 4.6 milligrams or 2,4,5-T per kilogram induced 39 percent abnormal fetuses; at 10 milligrams per kilogram the proportion of abnormal fetuses was 78 percent; at 21.5 milligrams per kilogram it was 90 percent, and the proportion rose to 100 percent if a dosage of 46.4 milligrams per kilogram was administered between the 10th and the 15th days of pregnancy.

The study in the teratogenic effects of these compounds will be published in a few months. The study is said to need further statistical elaboration. D. W. Gaylor, a federal statistician who has examined the study, said in an interview that the teratogenic effects were "somewhat overstated on some compounds and understated on others."

Commenting on these studies, columnists Frank Mankiewicz and Tom Braden thundered: "Not since Romans salted the land after destroying Carthage has a nation taken pains to visit the war upon future generations." While such a statement may be an exaggeration (this observer does not believe

that the U.S. government began use of 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D in Vietnam with the knowledge that they would have teratogenic effects in humans), the whole 2,4,5-T matter does raise important and unsettling questions to the scientists who have studied it. Why were these herbicides allowed to be widely used in Vietnam before scientific studies on animals had been performed? Why has Fort Detrick, the Army's biological and chemical warfare research center, failed to impose some control in the use of these herbicides?—  
BRYCE NELSON

#### WALTER KANER

### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, each Thanksgiving, people join with friends and family to celebrate their blessings and enjoy the warmth that results from good food and good friends.

For those who are homeless or needy, especially for children, the time heralding Thanksgiving would be hollow and heartbreaking if not for the kindness of persons who look beyond their own joys and provide happiness for others. Among these rare men who believe that the greatest pleasure is giving, is Walter Kaner, a noted columnist with the Long Island Press and a close friend of mine.

Each year, for the past 16 years, he has brought untold joys to needy, homeless and handicapped children by hosting a party the likes of which could only have sprung from a man who truly understands children. This year, Mr. Kaner hosted a gathering for 700 children, a party which met with such success that it is doubtful that such an event will ever be seen again on Long Island until it is time for the next Kaner party.

Assuredly, his yearly party has generated such enthusiasm from participants and observers as well that President Nixon and Governor Rockefeller included their best wishes along with many others at this 16th annual party.

Mr. Speaker, since the coverage of this party by the Long Island Press best describes the worth of this man, and the delight he has given to so many, I would like to take this opportunity to extend my remarks to include the article from the Long Island Press on "Kaner's Party":

700 LONG ISLAND YOUNGSTERS HAVE A BALL AT KANER'S PARTY

Balloons and oranges, ice cream and popcorn, and 700 kids dancing, jumping, clapping and screaming with delight . . . The decibel level was gigantic . . . And it was just beeeoooootfull!

It was Press Columnist Walter Kaner's 16th annual Thanksgiving Party for handicapped, homeless and needy Long Island youngsters. And those 700 kids were eating up every minute of joy in the jam-packed Boulevard Restaurant in Rego Park.

"What do you like best?" someone asked 10-year-old Danny who had come all the way from Melville with his classmates from the Suffolk State School.

He didn't have to think even a minute to answer that one. "The party!" he shouted enthusiastically over the music the Dinney Diner Orchestra was beating out.

"I like the dancing best," chimed in his friend, Gordon, 14, and then laughed as he added, "I like to eat, too!" and stuffed another handful of popcorn in his mouth.

Out on the dance floor there was just about room to wiggle to the beat, and Pete the Tramp (Peter Kaslauskas of Middle Village) waved gaily to TVs greenhaired Magic Clown, and the two managed to swing and sway through the mob of little people close enough to shake hands over a dozen little heads. Looking like benign giants, they grinned broadly but words out there were impossible to hear.

"Cowboy Joe" Phillips of Lake Ronkonkoma found himself totally surrounded by admirers loathe to let him move from one corner of the room, wanting more and more of his spellbinding trick gunplay.

"Watch me," called 3-year-old Raymond to his twin sister, Sonoma, "I can make this go!" and he blew his blue pinwheel so it spun like mad. Meanwhile their twin friends Larry and Gary had slipped down from their chairs and joined a dozen other youngsters in an informal dance at a convenient space between tables.

The two sets of twins were among 30 youngsters from the Headstart program being run by South Ozone Park's CREED (Center for Recreation, Education, Employment and Development).

Michael, 5, and tiny for his age, slowly but determinedly walked to his chair and was helped up by one of the many volunteers on duty at the party. As the aide carefully laid his crutches nearby, she asked if he was having a good time. Mike's face crinkled with delight. "Yeh!" he responded, nodding vigorously. He was one of 25 youngsters from Queens Cerebral Palsy.

The youngsters came from Queens, Nassau, Suffolk, Brooklyn and Staten Island to enjoy the party, the delight of a lifetime for many to whom gay times are few and far between. Some were in wheelchairs and not a few, like Mike, on crutches. But if they couldn't dance, they bounced in their chairs or they clapped in time to the music. And they ate and bounced balloons back and forth and shouted, and it was like Thanksgiving and Christmas all rolled in one.

Walter Kaner, the man who master-minds the party every year, watched and smiled in his quiet way. And it was easy to see he didn't begrudge a minute of the tremendous amount of time he'd spent since Labor Day in the huge job of organizing the party which is made possible by the countless contributions of business firms, musicians, entertainers and others.

It was a good day.

And to top the "good day" was a telegram to Kaner from the President which read:

"My very best wishes go to all attending the 16th annual Thanksgiving party sponsored by Walter Kaner. It is my hope that the children enjoy themselves and that the spirit of Thanksgiving remains a part of their lives and of the lives of all those who are participating in this commendable effort." Signed—Richard Nixon.

#### THE UNIVERSALITY OF JERUSALEM

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy engendered by the hostilities in Israel has been fought in the deserts and mountains of the Near East as well as on the pages of the world's press. The image that emerges is one of bitterness and disaster, escalated by the uncom-



promising harshness of the diplomatic exchanges of the Israeli and Arab Governments.

In this human turmoil, to read the eloquence of Eliezer Ben Yisrael is to read of the universality of Jerusalem. For it is here in the heartland of the world's religions where humanity is learning to love and let live.

As Yisrael says, "For the first time since the Romans put the torch to the Temple everyone has equal rights, there is now complete religious freedom for all in Jerusalem. We are home."

I submit at this point for inclusion in the RECORD Yisrael's letter, published recently in the New York Times:

#### A LETTER TO THE WORLD FROM JERUSALEM

I am not a creature from another planet, as you seem to believe. I am a Jerusalemite, like yourselves, a man of flesh and blood. I am a citizen of my city, an integral part of my people.

I have a few things to get off my chest. Because I am not a diplomat, I do not have to mince words. I do not have to please you or even persuade you. I owe you nothing. You did not build this city; you do not live in it; you did not defend it when they came to destroy it. And we will be damned if we will let you take it away.

There was a Jerusalem before there was a New York. When Berlin, Moscow, London and Paris were miasmal forest and swamp, there was a thriving Jewish community here. It gave something to the world which you nations have rejected ever since you established yourselves—a humane moral code.

Here the prophets walked, their words flashing like forked lightning. Here a people who wanted nothing more than to be left alone, fought off waves of heathen would-be conquerors, bled and died on the battlefields, hurled themselves into the flames of their burning Temple rather than surrender; and when finally overwhelmed by sheer numbers and led away into captivity, swore that before they forgot Jerusalem, they would see their tongues cleave to their palates, their right arm wither.

For two pain-filled millennia, while we were your unwelcome guests, we prayed daily to return to this city. Three times a day we petitioned the Almighty: "Gather us from the four corners of the world, bring us up-right to our land; return in mercy to Jerusalem, Thy city, and dwell in it as Thou promised."

On every Yom Kippur and Passover we fervently voiced the hope that next year would find us in Jerusalem. Your inquisitions, pogroms, expulsions, the ghettos into which you jammed us, your forced baptisms, your quota systems, your genteel anti-semitism, and the final unspeakable horror, the holocaust (and worse, your terrifying disinterest in it)—all these have not broken us. They may have sapped what little moral strength you still possessed, but they forged us into steel. Do you think that you can break us now, after all we have been through? Do you really believe that after Dachau and Auschwitz we

are frightened by your threats of blockades and sanctions? We have been to Hell and back—a Hell of your making. What more could you possibly have in your arsenal that could scare us?

I have watched this city bombarded twice by nations calling themselves civilized. In 1948, while you looked on apathetically, I saw women and children blown to smithereens, this after we had agreed to your request to internationalize the city. It was a deadly combination that did the job: British officers, Arab gunners and American-made cannon.

And then the savage sacking of the Old City: the wilful slaughter, the wanton destruction of every synagogue and religious school; the desecration of Jewish cemeteries; the sale by a ghoulish government of tomb stones for building materials, for poultry runs, army camps—even latrines.

And you never said a word. You never breathed the slightest protest when the Jordanian shut off the holiest of our holy places, the Western Wall in violation of the pledges they had made after the war—a war they waged, incidentally, against a decision of the UN. Not a murmur came from you whenever the legionnaires in their spiked helmets casually opened fire upon our citizens from behind the walls.

Your hearts bled when Berlin came under siege. You rushed your airlift "to save the gallant Berliners." But you did not send one ounce of food when Jews starved in besieged Jerusalem. You thundered against the wall which the East Germans ran through the middle of the German capital, but not one peep out of you about that other wall, the one that tore through the heart of Jerusalem.

And when the same thing happened 20 years later, and the Arabs unleashed a savage, unprovoked bombardment of the Holy City again, did any of you do anything? The only time you came to life was when the city was at last re-united. Then you wrung your hands and spoke loftily of "justice" and the need for the "Christian" quality of turning the other cheek.

The truth is—and you know it deep inside your gut—you would prefer the city to be destroyed rather than have it governed by Jews. No matter how diplomatically you phrase it, the age old prejudices seep out of every word.

If our return to the city has tied your theology in knots, perhaps you had better re-examine your catechisms. After what we have been through, we are not passively going to accommodate ourselves to the twisted idea that we are to suffer eternal homelessness until we accept your Saviour.

For the first time since the year 70 there is now complete religious freedom for all in Jerusalem. For the first time since the Romans put the torch to the Temple everyone has equal rights. (You preferred to have some more equal than others.) We loathe the sword—but it was you who forced us to take it up. We crave peace—but we are not going back to the peace of 1948 as you would like us to.

We are home. It has a lovely sound for a nation you have willed to wander over the

face of the globe. We are not leaving. We have redeemed the pledge made by our forefathers: Jerusalem is being rebuilt. "Next year"—and the year after, and after, and after, until the end of time—"in Jerusalem!"

#### MOUNTING CRISIS IN THE AMERICAN FOOTWEAR INDUSTRY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the latest reports from the National Footwear Manufacturers Foreign Trade Committee indicate that October imports of almost 15 million pairs of leather and vinyl footwear was 17 percent more than during October 1968. The total of imports to date this year of leather and vinyl types of footwear of 167 billion pairs is almost 15 percent ahead of last year.

This situation cries out for import restrictions. Quota limitations on foreign footwear imports is a necessity if the American industry is to be able to schedule ahead to successfully meet foreign competition. Apparently, relief is not to be forthcoming, at least in the near future, from Executive action.

In this situation, I urge the prompt enactment of my orderly marketing legislation proposal, H.R. 733. Congress should act to impose this policy upon an apparently unwilling and reluctant executive branch to protect the jobs of thousands upon thousands of American shoe workers.

Indicative of the situation to date this year is the following statement and schedule of U.S. footwear imports from January to October 1969, by the New England Footwear Association, issued December 5, 1969:

#### U.S. FOOTWEAR IMPORTS, JANUARY-OCTOBER 1969

October imports of 14.6 million pairs of leather and vinyl footwear amounted to 17% more than were shipped during the same time last year. Leather and vinyl imports were 28% of an estimated October production of 51.5 million pairs.

To-date imports of leather and vinyl types totaling 166.8 million pairs are nearly 15% ahead of last year. Average value per pair (f.o.b.) reached \$2.16 for the 10-month period compared to the average of \$1.86 during the same period last year.

In recent months shipments of leather shoes have been making greater gains than vinyl types. Women's types are still coming in heavily but men's are gaining at a faster rate than the overall trend.

January to October					
Shoes and slippers (leather and vinyl)		Pairs (thousands)		Percent change pairs 1969 over 1968	Percent share of total
		1969	1968		1969 1968
From:					
Japan	55,361	55,166	+0.4	33.1	38.0
Italy	51,298	48,532	+5.7	30.8	33.4
Spain	17,625	11,502	+53.2	10.6	7.9
France	2,332	2,426	-3.9	1.4	1.7
From:					
China (Taiwan)	20,203	11,821	+70.9	12.1	8.1
Other countries	19,931	15,916	+25.2	12.0	10.9
Total pairs	166,750	145,363	+14.7	100.0	100.0

## TOTAL IMPORTS OF OVER-THE-FOOT FOOTWEAR, DEC. 5, 1969

[Pairs and dollars in thousands]

Type of footwear	October 1969 pairs	Percent change October 1969 over October 1968	10 months, 1969		Average value per pair	Percent change 1969 over 1968	
			Pairs	Value		Pairs	Value
Leather and vinyl, total.....	13,518.0	+12.5	160,195.0	\$353,607.3	\$2.21	+13.4	+32.2
Leather, excluding slippers.....	7,052.1	+11.0	82,315.4	290,129.5	3.52	+16.1	+33.1
Men's, youths', boys'.....	2,304.6	+14.3	24,834.4	107,116.6	4.31	+28.4	+39.8
Women's, misses'.....	4,328.1	+13.2	50,687.2	164,213.6	3.24	+8.7	+30.0
Children's, infants'.....	153.6	-12.8	4,428.7	7,014.5	1.58	+81.4	+98.7
Moccasins.....	54.5	+9.0	546.0	660.0	1.21	+3	+11.8
Other leather (including work and athletic).....	211.3	-8.6	1,819.1	11,124.8	6.12	-4.1	+1.8
Slippers.....	26.0	-56.2	302.4	641.5	2.12	-2.9	-8.3
Vinyl supported uppers.....	6,439.9	+13.8	77,577.2	62,836.3	.81	+10.7	+28.8
Men's and boys'.....	759.7	+34.8	8,219.5	9,668.4	1.18	+23.9	+46.8
Women's and misses'.....	4,972.7	+13.0	60,882.6	47,467.4	.78	+7.1	+24.6
Children's and infants'.....	538.6	-6.0	6,950.2	4,918.9	.71	+31.7	+42.3
Soft soles.....	169.0	+40.0	1,524.9	783.6	.51	+18.7	+20.9
Other nonrubber types, total.....	1,050.9	+137.8	6,554.6	7,132.8	1.09	+59.0	+115.4
Wood.....	178.3	+974.1	964.7	2,355.5	2.44	+368.3	+429.0
Fabric uppers.....	757.4	+102.3	4,813.4	3,804.4	.79	+36.8	+55.8
Other, not elsewhere specified.....	115.2	+126.3	776.5	972.9	1.25	+94.5	+129.5
Nonrubber footwear, total.....	14,568.8	+17.0	166,749.7	360,740.0	2.16	+14.7	+33.2
Rubber soled fabric uppers.....	4,013.3	-1.2	38,481.7	29,491.1	.74	-10.0	+8.2
Grand total, all types.....	18,582.1	+12.5	205,231.4	389,231.1	1.90	+9.1	+31.0

Note: Details may not add up due to rounding. Figures do not include imports of waterproof rubber footwear, zories, and slipper socks. Rubber soled fabric upper footwear includes non-American selling price types.

Source: National Footwear Manufacturers Association estimates from Census raw data. For further detailed information, address your inquiries to the association, Room 302, 342 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

## MYLAI PROPAGANDA: A STANDARD PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE ATTACK

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the alleged Mylai massacre continues to be built up in the press and by the television networks. There even seems to be a campaign to "educate" the public in massacres generally, with recent stories discussing Lidice, and even the Katyn Forest. Hue was even mentioned, no doubt by an inexperienced reporter, in today's press.

A timely editorial in the Chicago Tribune, pointing out the Communist origin of the Mylai story, does much to explain the zeal with which it has been promoted by Hanoi's "dear American friends" in this country. Unfortunately, many Americans fail to recognize the Mylai atrocity story as standard psychological warfare against us because they have never understood that we are at war. Why blame the people, no one tells them.

Another timely editorial from the National Review Bulletin makes the connection between this particular propaganda attack and the recurring use of alleged atrocities as effective war propaganda.

I include both editorials in my remarks:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Dec. 6, 1969]

#### THE ATROCITY CAMPAIGN

(A guest editorial from the National Review Bulletin)

There have always been atrocities in war, but atrocity campaigns are an innovation of this century. The first large-scale atrocity campaign was conducted by the British,

later joined by Americans under George Creel, against the Germans in World War I. Atrocity propaganda has been a feature of nearly every war since then. The campaign against the Nazis, the French in Algeria, the Kuomintang in China, Batista in Cuba, the germ war campaign against the United States in the Korean war are conspicuous examples.

Atrocity campaigns are a weapon of modern warfare—often an effective weapon—and they usually manage to enlist a host of volunteers: humanitarians, dupes, and the sensation-mongering media. Atrocity propaganda has little to do with the truth about atrocities, tho, by the nature of war, there is often some underpinning of fact [Not always: cf. the germ war in Korea charges.]

The massive atrocity campaign in the Algerian war was directed against the French, tho the Algerian revolutionaries committed a thousand times more, and worse, atrocities. And generally speaking, the big campaigns have been against the relatively rightward side of the given combat—the atrocities of the left have usually far outweighed those of the right.

It is possible, it is likely, that American soldiers in Viet Nam have committed acts that, whatever the provocation, must be termed atrocities. The truths should be faced, and the individuals judged. But Americans will rightly reject and scorn the hypocritical, selective indignation of those for whom this atrocity-mongering is only a grovel in ugly sensationalism, and a mask for an attack on American policy and leadership, and a comfort to the enemy.

American atrocities are exceptions, flaws springing from the weakness of individual soldiers and the pressure of overwhelming circumstances. The enemy's multitudinous atrocities in this war—so little noticed by most of those now so occupied with ours—are deliberate, systematic, routine; they are of the essence of his doctrine, of his mode of struggle of his being.

[From the Chicago, Ill., Tribune, Dec. 6, 1969]

#### THE ENEMY CALLS IT A MASSACRE

The Guardian, a violently anti-American weekly published in New York, has printed a report by Wilfred Burchett, an Australian

Communist and agent on Hanoi, on the alleged My Lai massacre. My Lai is one of the hamlets in Song My village. Burchett says the massacre charges were made in a letter from a Song My local section of the communist Liberation Women's association, which was released by representatives of the communist Provisional Revolutionary government [P. R. G.] in Hanoi and Paris.

Under a Paris date line, Burchett writes: "Actually, long before reports about Song My were published in the United States, the letter had been presented to a press conference in Hanoi by P. R. G. Ambassador Nguyen Van Tien, who is now deputy chief of the P. R. G. delegation to the talks here."

Burchett quotes from the letter, which makes the same accusations against American soldiers that have been repeated across the country by a dozen or more former members of the company that assaulted My Lai on March 16, 1968. The letter says the troops arrived in helicopters, after an artillery bombardment, and "opened fire on everybody, sparing no one, destroying houses and live stock. Those in shelters were machine-gunned or killed by grenades." It charges that 502 civilians, including 170 children, and over 870 live stock were killed; that 300 houses were destroyed; that nothing was left but "ashes and cries of grief"; that in "virtually every home" candles were burning for the dead, etc.

One may wonder what homes the candles were burning in if nothing was left but ashes. Far more important than this contradiction in the communist letter, however, is the question whether Viet Cong villagers who made these charges against the American troops were the source of information about the alleged My Lai massacre which finally reached officials in Washington in the form of a letter from Ronald Ridenhour, dated March 29, 1969. Ridenhour, as described by Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor, is "a former soldier who had heard rumors about a supposed atrocity from fellow soldiers."

What was the original source of these rumors, and how exaggerated were they when they reached Ridenhour's informants? Communists are experts at starting such rumors, which grow as they are spread. Some participants in the My Lai assault have confirmed



the enemy charges, but how accurate are their recollections of the behavior of the troops under intense enemy fire, and what is their motive for charging that unarmed civilians were slaughtered? An army combat photographer asked \$100,000 and was paid an estimated \$40,000 for pictures he took of collections of bodies, not an uncommon sight after an artillery bombardment and infantry assault on an enemy fortified hamlet. It is reported that a television network paid \$10,000 for the story of one former soldier, who said he killed many civilians.

Capt. Ernest Medina, the company commander in the My Lai assault, has denied that he either ordered or saw any intentional shooting of civilians. At the press conference in the Pentagon, he said he saw 20 to 28 bodies of women and children and so stated in his after-action report. He said he believed these women and children were killed by artillery or helicopter gunship fire, grenade-launcher fire, or cross-fire between American and enemy troops in the confusion of battle.

Capt. Medina himself, guided by a helicopter to "a Viet Cong lying on the ground and moving with a weapon," shot the person, who turned out to be a woman. This is not unusual in guerrilla warfare. AK-47s fired by women and grenades thrown by 10-year-old boys are just as deadly as they are in any other hands.

Other eyewitnesses have denied the massacre charges. If it turns out that the My Lai atrocity story is a gigantic hoax, planted by the Communists, the anti-war forces in this country who have pounced upon it so gleefully in an attempt to discredit the United States in Viet Nam will deserve and no doubt receive public scorn.

#### ILLINOIS DIVISION OF POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS OBSERVES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on November 26, the Illinois division of the Polish-American Congress, which represents all of the Polish-American civic, social, religious, educational, and veterans' organizations in Illinois, observed its 25th anniversary.

In a most inspiring dinner held at the Sherman House and chaired by prominent Chicago attorney and banker, Mitchell Kobelinski, a number of distinguished Chicagoans were honored for their contributions to the congress.

Those receiving the Special Service Award included three of our colleagues, besides myself. These were Congressman DANIEL ROSTENKOWSKI, Congressman EDWARD DERWINSKI, and Congressman FRANK ANNUNZIO.

Those receiving the Past President's Award beside myself included Judge Thaddeus Adesko and Judge Edward Plusdrak.

Those receiving an award for distinguished service to the congress included Mrs. Lydia Pucinski, Mrs. Mande Rosnewic, and Mr. Bonaventure Migala.

The president of the Illinois division, Dr. Edward Rozanski, placed into dynamic perspective not only the role of the Illinois division during the past 25 years, but outlined an enthusiastic program of action for the future.

Highlight of the inspiring evening was

an address by Aloysius A. Mazewski, president of the Polish American Congress and Polish National Alliance.

Mr. Mazewski today speaks with the confident voice of a leader who represents millions of Americans of Polish descent in the United States.

The inspiring message on this 25th anniversary brought an enthusiastic response from all present.

Because Mr. Mazewski today is the undisputed voice of Americans of Polish descent throughout this Nation, I believe it fitting that we place in the RECORD his entire address.

Mr. Mazewski's address follows:

ADDRESS BY ALOYSIUS A. MAZEWSKI, PRESIDENT, POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS AND POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE

It is fitting and proper that the Chicago observance of the 25th anniversary of the Polish American Congress be viewed and appraised as the pacesetter and fixed star for similar festivities and commemorations of other Polish American communities across the land.

By virtue of demography, Chicago Polonia constitutes the hub for purposes, objectives and pursuits of those Americans of Polish ancestry who keep the flame of their cultural and spiritual heritage alive in their hearts.

For those Americans of Polish origin who are deeply and meaningfully aware of the fact, that by adhering to the best values of their ethnic legacy, they enrich and strengthen the social fabric of the American nation—Chicago Polonia has been, is, and shall remain the hearth of collective aspirations of the entire American Polonia.

Thus it is no accident of history, that the Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress, centered primarily in the Chicago metropolitan area, has always been the leading and pace-setting force in the activities of various divisions organized in 38 states of the Union.

Although the Polish American Congress had been founded in Buffalo twenty five years ago, its nerve center of activity, inspiration and leadership was immediately transferred to Chicago.

And it is in this larger frame of reference that I state with all sincerity, that by observing the 25th anniversary of the Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress, we pay tribute to the entire nation-wide organization. And it is here that we put its future in a sharp focus and view it in an updated perspective, more relevant to the changing challenges of our turbulent times.

It is, therefore, with a sense of appreciation and gratitude that I acknowledge and praise the bold and imaginative leadership of Dr. Edward C. Rozanski as president of the Illinois Division. His dedication and fidelity to the purposes and objectives of the Polish American Congress are exemplary and inspiring, indeed.

A sincere accolade is also due the general chairman of today's celebration,—Mitchell P. Kobelinski. His commitment to the betterment of Polonia's standing in our land, his devotion to our ethnic heritage, and his prodigious expenditure of time and energy in the service for the organization and for Polonia, make him an outstanding activist with manifest potentialities for even greater leadership of tomorrow.

It can be stated in simplest terms, that the Polish American Congress was born of the love of freedom and of the awareness of the innate dignity of man.

The concomitant issue was a free and independent Poland, mortally endangered at the closing months of World War Two by the evil and suppressive forces of red tyranny and the Soviet design for world dominion.

To Americans of Polish origin, steeped in centuries-old tradition of individual free-

dom and recognition of the dignity of man—Poland of 1944-45, had become a test case on a universal scale.

When Poland, weakened by the indifference of the free nations of the West, fell victim of the communist aggression and of alien, eastern ideology, based on tyranny—half of the European continent has been engulfed by darkness. Nations of East Central Europe had their millennial ties with the West severed on orders from Moscow.

When Poland was neglected by the West as the test case of free people's determination, steadfastness and resolution in the defense of the freedom and dignity of man—cold war and nuclear arms race ensued leading to the present balance of terror between the two super powers—The United States and the Soviet Union.

On the curve of time spanning 25 years since the cessation of hostilities in World War Two, new challenges evolved from the old ones, new responses were made and new problems were faced. Uneasiness afflicts the man to today, for he knows that a world which is half free and half enslaved cannot enjoy peace or stability.

Yet in the expanding horizons of old and new challenges, of opportunities full of promise and of man's inherent longing for peace and justice—the central and crucial issue remains unchanged.

It is the issue of the individual freedom and dignity of man, born of Christian tenets and nourished by men of good will.

In this issue, the freedom and independence of Poland and other nations of East Central Europe, nations with millennial culture and progress, is paramount.

However, as I have stated before, it is rather concomitant of the larger, universal challenges in which man's future is inexorably involved.

Thus, the Polish American Congress, in its fight for justice for Poland and in its deeply considered opposition to communism, not only stands in the defense of its ancestral home, but, primarily, and above all, serves the cause of the freedom of man everywhere, thus fulfilling part of America's manifest destiny to be the torch bearer for freedom and enlightenment of all mankind.

In order to pursue its fixed objectives more efficiently, the Polish American Congress is paying increasing attention to the internal affairs and well being of American Polonia. Its last Convention gave eloquent testimony to this pursuit declaring that among the principal aims of the Polish American Congress is to "protect the good name of Americans of Polish extraction and the people of Poland against unfriendly attacks of their enemies and against attempts to belittle the historic accomplishments of the Polish people, their contribution to the growth and development of the United States."

Today, the Polish American Congress carries a wide spectrum of activities aimed primarily at strengthening the position of our Polonia in the mainstream of American life; to secure long overdue and proper recognition for Americans of Polish origin in all walks of American life; to open new and wider opportunities for advancement and betterment of our young generations through educational aid.

That we are on the threshold of meaningful successes in this area, it is best and proudly attested at this banquet. I am truly happy to state that many of our eminent Polish Americans documented their interest in Polonia, by being with us tonight and buying \$1,000 silver page for this banquet. (Will you please rise, etc.)

I welcome you with all sincerity of my heart. At the same time, I appeal to you, our distinguished guests, to go with us further along the road to a better future of Polonia. As participants at this banquet, you are trailblazers for those, who are yet to

come into our fold, those, whom we eagerly await. There are many Americans of Polish ancestry, who attained position of affluence and influence in American life. In certain aspects and measures, their successes could be attributed to the Polish American community in which they were born or in which they serve professionally.

Polonia has a right to expect their participation in our mutual pursuits and objectives. It's only fair that they contribute of their knowledge, their eminence and their wealth to the well being of their source of origin.

And, what's even more important, in the new set of emerging social concepts, Polonia can contribute much to their statute. Only last week at a sociological symposium in Chicago, an eminent American scholar stated that the ethnic identity of each American is "the in thing", is the new measure of individual values in our pluralist society.

And in this frame of reference, the Polish American Congress is the "in thing" for all Americans of Polish origin who have gained or who are striving for place of eminence in many areas of American life.

As I have stated in my brief Polish remarks, the Polish American Congress, while not re-arranging the sequence of its ideological and practical priorities, it does, nevertheless, place added emphasis on the American aspects of Polonia's pursuits and purposes. We realize, that these must be taken under deep and constant consideration, if we are to remain a viable organization in terms of influence, prestige and a better future for our young people.

Consequently, we will do more for the restoration of a free and independent Poland, as the keystone to European stability and its corollary, the American security, if we are internally strong and aware of our potentialities as a cohesive ethnic entity.

Those of us who through the determination and sacrifices of our parents and grandparents were fortunate to receive education and enter professional business life of our community, should share the benefits of our advancement with Polonia. After all, Polonia was constituted by our parents and grandparents. It is their creation and the living monument to their civic virtue and wisdom. And we owe it some of our filial attachment primarily for sentimental reasons and secondarily, for very practical reasons. For well organized, affluent and influential Polonia will immeasurably add to our stature as Americans of Polish ancestry.

To attain this stature, however, we must pay particular and increasing attention to one area of American life, in which we are rather deficient, namely—the area of public affairs. Our participation in politics and public service could, and must be greater. Many of Polonia's well-to-do leaders in business and professions are reluctant to participate in political discussions and campaigns. And, what is even more detrimental to Polonia's position of prestige and influence, many affluent and qualified Americans of Polish origin hesitate to accept governmental positions on local, state and federal levels, because their salaried income would be lesser than the income they derived from their private enterprises. Many of them can easily afford such sacrifice for the public good.

I agree that the rough and tumble of politics does not appeal to a number of our prominent compatriots. This should not, however, keep them from indirect participation in politics—by supporting financially and otherwise, those among Polonia's political activists who are qualified and who are aspiring to position of public responsibilities, be they Democrats to us or Republicans. And support others who by deeds have shown their friendship.

Let this, then, be the message sent forth from this place and at this time to all Americans of Polish heritage:

Be a participatory member of the Polish American Congress, and actively support its pursuits and objectives.

#### EL SALVADOR-HONDURAS CONFLICT

#### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the aftermath of the July clash between Honduras and El Salvador continues to concern me. I include in the RECORD two news stories which tell of some consequences of that unhappy conflict:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 3, 1969]  
HONDURANS RESENTFUL OF UNITED STATES  
AFTER THEIR CLASH WITH EL SALVADOR  
(By Juan de Onis)

TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS, December 2—A Deep feeling of national injury in Honduras over El Salvador's military occupation of border areas of this country in July is mixed here with flashes of resentment toward the United States.

A stone-throwing crowd last month smashed windows in the United States Consulate and wrecked an official United States automobile in San Pedro Sula, the main city on the Banana-producing Atlantic Coast.

The motive for the outburst was unclear, although the crowd also stoned the hotel that held the headquarters of a representative of the Organization of American States, which has been arranging the repatriation of thousands of Salvadorians who have lost their jobs or been intimidated here since the conflict.

However, Honduran observers in San Pedro Sula say that the crowd, which gathered on a Sunday morning in the main plaza outside the Mayor's office, acted with at least official tolerance.

#### TROOPS ACTED SLOWLY

Troops that were on hand did not move in to disperse the rioters until after the damage had been done. Since then, following a United States complaint, things have been quiet both on the coast and in this highland capital.

But United States officials frequently hear the complaint from Hondurans, some members of the Government of Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano, that the United States had "let us down" in the emergency with El Salvador.

The complaint is that the United States decision to halt all military assistance to both countries as soon as hostilities broke out favored El Salvador, which was better armed, and that the United States should have been able to stop the invasion anyway.

The United States feels that the Honduras-El Salvador dispute is a Central American problem that should be solved primarily by the five Central American countries with the good offices of the Organization of American States and its secretary General, Galo Plaza.

#### CEASE-FIRE SINCE JULY

The possibilities of success in this approach, which has maintained a cease-fire since July, will be tested tomorrow when the five Central American foreign ministers, of Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua

and Costa Rica, meet in Managua, Nicaragua.

Their agenda includes the proposal that a Honduras-El Salvador mixed commission meet in a third country, probably Costa Rica, under the presidency of a moderator representing Mr. Plaza to work out negotiated settlement of the conflict.

The main issue for Honduras is agreement on boundaries. The border between the two countries has not been defined in a section of about 100 miles where the Lempa River crosses from Honduras into El Salvador.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 8, 1969]  
COPTERS FLY AID TO HONDURAN VILLAGES  
ISOLATED BY SALVADOR WAR  
(By Juan de Onis)

VALLADOLID, Honduras, December 3.—Helicopter 584 bucked and pitched in the tricky gusts of wind blowing up to 50 miles an hour over the bare knob of a hill that is the only landing site near this old mountain village.

As the United States Army craft settled on the rock-strewn ground, scores of townspeople and barefoot children crowded under the whirling blades to greet a flight that has become their main contact with the outside world.

The United States is providing three helicopters and a reconnaissance plane for military cease-fire observers and civilian relief operations. Set up by the Organization of American States, the groups seek to bring about a peace settlement between Honduras and El Salvador after their four-day war in July.

El Salvador has rejected relief assistance from the hemisphere organization, so most of the work is concentrated in the western mountain region of Honduras, a sort of Appalachia of poor corn farmers in colonial villages that are days removed by mule trails from the nearest Honduran roads.

#### CUT OFF FROM MARKET

Valladolid, La Virtud, Guarita and other towns in the mountains along the border with El Salvador have been cut off from their natural market and source of supplies in the neighboring country since the border was closed during the war.

Although both countries have agreed to observe a cease-fire ordered by an emergency meeting of American Foreign Ministers, there are still frequent shooting incidents across the uneasy border and the small farmers and townspeople are afraid.

As recently as 10 days ago, night marauders crossing from El Salvador looted Zazalapa, a hamlet three miles from here. Two persons were killed, including an old shoemaker.

"The people are scared," said Miss Carmen Castillo Suazo, a student from the school of social work in Tegucigalpa, the national capital, who has been working here for 10 days. "All the farm families, about 250 people, have abandoned the Zazalapa and Corozal valleys and gone farther back in the hills."

A squad of 20 Honduran soldiers armed with old Mauser rifles is here, but people have been so nervous that Miss Castillo has organized bingo games at night by a Coleman lamp in front of the old church so whole families will not leave to sleep in the pine forests nearby.

The half-dozen military observers of the O.A.S. on both sides of the border have not been able to control, or obtain accurate information on, the incursions that each side says are committed by the other.

There are more than 60,000 resentful Salvadorans across the border who had been living in Honduras, but were forced to flee, leaving behind small farm plots, jobs and homes. Their departure was brought about by a wave of anti-Salvadoran actions that



began before the war, giving rise to the conflict, and have continued since.

#### VIOLENCE, KILLINGS COMMON

These actions were mainly in other areas of Honduras, where cattle ranchers blamed Salvadoran migrants for land invasions, or where the Honduran Agrarian Reform Institute, to settle Honduran peasants forced Salvadoran squatters off lands they had tilled for years.

Violence and killings were common, and since the O.A.S. began a count of departing Salvadorans, 18,500 have gone out just through El Poy, a border point north of here. The total exodus is believed to exceed 65,000 people.

The hill people here have for centuries sold their pigs, chickens, corn and eggs in markets in El Salvador near the border, such as Chalatenango, because the roads in El Salvador come up to the border on the Sumpul River. In turn, basic goods and clothing have come from the neighboring country.

In the crisis since July, the United States helicopter flights have supplied the border towns with salt, sugar, powdered milk, medical supplies and gasoline drums for small electric power generators.

"The terrible thing here is the subnutrition of the children," said Miss Castillo. "We have counted 125 here under 15 years of age in a total population of 244. Sometimes they go all day without eating anything and the worst is, they don't even complain."

There is some question here among O.A.S. personnel about how long this type of relief work can go on while Honduras and El Salvador refuse to resume normal diplomatic and commercial relations.

"This is great public relations," said an O.A.S. observer here, "but it may be costing \$1,000 a day to keep these birds flying around."

#### OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY

### HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. BELL of California. Mr. Speaker, the Christmas season traditionally marks a time of renewed hope for the future. In the closing weeks of this decade, however, our optimism may be dimmed in reflection upon the tumultuous events of the past 10 years. Our universities particularly have come under a great deal of fire in recent years. As we enter the 1970's, many of us will question the future of these institutions which must, by their very nature, produce leaders of tomorrow.

My constituent, Rev. Donald P. Merrifield, S.J., a man I deeply respect, was inaugurated president of Loyola University of Los Angeles on October 22. He brings to the post an encouraging optimism in the future of the university as a human institution. The inaugural address he delivered in October reflects his great spirit and it is worthy of consideration as we contemplate the future of the Nation.

In addition to being a priest, Father Merrifield is a physicist and a dedicated educator. I found his speech enlightening and uplifting, and it is with great pleasure that I commend the wisdom of his message to my colleagues:

#### THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY AND THE SPIRIT OF GOD

(Inaugural address of Rev. Donald P. Merrifield, S.J.)

A mass of the Holy Spirit may be an unusual setting for a presidential inauguration in the contemporary American educational world. It certainly seems today that we have a pale imitation of a medieval consecration of king or bishop, hardly an appropriate scene for the taking of office by a university president, who is far from a medieval king or bishop in his authority and who is well aware of the great distinction between the university and any kingdom or church. Yet, I have chosen this particular format for my inauguration in order to stress certain aspects of the educational enterprise, some of them unique to a religiously oriented school, which seem to me in need of emphasis, which seem to me to be utterly relevant to the contemporary American and world scene.

1. Let me begin with the assertion that the Holy Spirit is today the most important element of the Christian faith. Let me further assert that dwelling upon the Christian understanding of the spirit of God at work in the world and in the hearts of men can lead the Christian into powerful and insightful dialogue with other men, both those who would describe themselves as religious and those who find religious categories useless or repugnant. If a Christian focuses his attention and his worship on that mysterious divine presence which he calls "the Holy Spirit" and if he is aware of the scriptural development in understanding that took place concerning this spirit, in all its manifestations in Israel and in the other nations and in the Christian church, as well as in the ongoing creation of the universe which is man's environment, he can discover that he has much in his faith that can bring him closer to his fellow men, rather than separate him. In brotherly exchange with all men, he can grow in the understanding of his own religious experience and of his experience as a human being facing great challenges in the building up of human community and in the mastery of the environment in which we find ourselves.

2. As I see the religiously oriented university today, its great task is to save mankind from idolatry, to save mankind from taking itself or its enterprises with ultimate seriousness. True, religious people have been accused of such anti-humanism and other worldliness as made them enemies of man and his serious tasks in this world. That deviancy always is a haunting possibility for the religious man and many have not escaped being drawn into a teaching and style of life that seemed essentially to deny the divine affirmation of Genesis: "And the Lord God looked upon all that he had made and saw that it was indeed very good." But the very tension in the religious world view between the goodness of man and his task of conquering the earth and becoming its master and the continual capability that man has for sinfulness, for self-destruction and foolish pride in his own accomplishments can be the source of a great and paradoxical wisdom. This is a wisdom that cannot be either pessimistic or optimistic in a simplistic way. Yet optimism, when somewhat cautious, is certainly the stronger emphasis of a religious faith, as I understand it.

Thus, in a university such as Loyola, which is free to explore not only the question of human values but also the meaning of religious faith, the experience of worship, the interplay of a commitment to God as the source and sustainer of all things and a commitment to the full range of human experiences, labors, and wondrous accomplishments, a unique educational opportunity exists which, at present, the secular

university does not enjoy. Not only man, his universe, and his own spirit are open for exploration in his institution, but also we can and must explore the realms of human life in which men have claimed to discover the presence and movement of the spirit of God. These are complementary studies. Not that we any longer seek for a "God of the Gaps", a divinity to fill in where we do not yet have an answer through physics, biology, psychology, social science, philosophy, literature, the arts, or any other academic discipline and mode of discovery. Hopefully, the religionist has been purified enough through the last four centuries of battle with the ever-expanding human sciences and arts. Now the believer is free to rediscover his God anew as everywhere present and active, as the other dimension, as no particular explanation, but yet the whole explanation.

Affirming that God, the more of all things, the beyond in the midst, does, I believe deliver us from worshipping the works of our own hands or, worse, worshipping our own hands and minds. All in indeed put in our care. There are no easy solutions, no divine short-cuts to discovery or to mastery of our environment. Yet, the man who can worship and, what is not too far from worship, who can laugh with joy, he alone, it seems to me, can throw himself into the human enterprise without fear of losing his soul in a very immediate way.

3. If the spirit should be the source of a grand freedom, a simple joy, a wisdom that is not crushed by evil, it should also be the root of human community. Certainly, all will grant that the university is a community. It is easily enough said that the university is a community of scholars, in which the students share as apprentices or junior members. The emphasis properly enough is upon scholars, as the distinctive mark that sets the institution of higher learning apart from other institutions. But are there not dangerous overtones in this affirmation? Does it not allow a misunderstanding? Scholarship can become so professional, so detached, so apparently unconcerned about the immediate human anxieties. Publish or perish, as an academic ideal, does not guarantee genuine concern to discover what is going on in the universe, including Vietnam and central Los Angeles. Studies, done in a random and detached way according to fancy, may be well done, may make a scholar, but do they make a human scholar? I have no quarrel with the man who by interest and temperament is totally immersed in investigating the correspondence between Pope Boniface VIII and the patriarch of Antioch or searching out the migration habits of the Peruvian tree sloth. But is this ideal for the teacher of the undergraduate liberal arts college?

The scholar I am drawn to indeed is a searcher after truth, and a specialist who humbly takes up one area of the universe as his task and his interest. But he must be a man who is in community with other scholars, who shares his partial vision and is in turn completed by the discoveries and visions of others. Nothing human, and even divine, should be entirely foreign to him. He is a man first and an educator and scholar secondly.

Perhaps a better phrase for the university would be a community in which all know that there are a diversity of gifts of the spirit and that there is no end to learning. Freed from the false security of knowing it all, a form of idolatry, and sensitive to the obvious fact that all men have access to the universe and to life and all men by nature desire to know, the learner, be he faculty or student, should be able to listen to others. They may at least raise a question never yet raised, call attention to a piece of data so far ignored, or even pose a solution with some plausibility.

No, all do not have the same expertise in the techniques of each art and science, but one without that expertise may suggest too much slavish dependence on technique or too much isolation from other fields or a complete obliviousness to relevant questions. One does not have to be a selenologist to wonder whether man ought not tackle the inner city and pollution before more flights to the moon. One does not have to be an expert in international politics to wonder whether Vietnam continues to be worth it, even on the political level. One does not have to be an expert in liturgical art to wonder if redesigning religious worship is as relevant to salvation as a total dedication to facing the racial clash in our Nation.

On the other hand, a university cannot be one vast sensitivity workshop or a center for full time unreflective urban plunging, however good-willed. Reflection, intelligent criticism, questioning are of the essence of this community. It is in function of this total dedication to get to the facts, to analyze them honestly, to seek explanations, even provisional, that the university is unique. And this seeking is a cooperative venture, since the variety of gifts of discernment and understanding are found dispersed among us. The man who isolates himself from the rest of the community of learners can be considered a sort of schismatic on the way to heresy, if I may use those terms. Without an open and human exchange with others he will not know by what spirit he is being led. On the other side, there is another sort of disorder which has both ecclesiastical and academic manifestations: The frenzied fanatic who alone has seen the true vision. Woe to him who is alone! Woe to him who does not listen to the others, be he a frenzied Maoist student who can hear no doubts or an assured faculty member who knows he knows both his sociology of the Norwegian farm village and knows that this is what his students ought to study.

4. Yes, as today's reading from Joel, quoted by Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, puts it: "... in the last days, God says, ... I will pour out a portion of my spirit upon all mankind; your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." If we are aware, the voice of prophesy sounds in many places today, the voice of warning of questioning, strange, exaggerated as prophesy often is, disturbing. Simon and Garfunkle, the black power movement, the peace movements, the rejection by many of the young of the churches, experimental colleges, even the drug culture, are not these all prophetic cries to which we must listen? Even the long hair and wild clothes that seem to bother the elders so much, are not these prophetic gestures, some sort of judgment on our uptight civilization? In the university, more than anywhere else, the visions of the young and the dreams and wisdom of the elders can meet in open dialogue in one community of learners. Criticism can move here from mere defiance to a creative building of a new vision, well understood and justified, which incorporates the truly wise elements of the old men's dreams.

"Nothing is inevitable if we will contemplate what is happening," says Marshall McLuhan. The university is a community for contemplating what is happening. Not just blindly throwing ourselves into what is happening, nor just a detached and sterile analysis of what has happened, but a careful and committed consideration by earnest learners of what actually is happening, seen in function of our understanding of what has happened. It is a contemplation that must pour over into action or it is a fraud, action through the graduates, action through all those the university can influence by its persuasive voice, a voice whose persuasiveness will come from the clarity

with which the facts and calls to solutions are set forth. Both the ability to contemplate well and with the whole of one's heart and mind and the ability to see what is happening are gifts of the spirit. The same spirit gives understanding and gives the fortitude to do what we must to help transform the human condition. If we have not both gifts in abundance within ourselves, perhaps we do as a community, if we will but listen and share.

5. The final aspect of the spirit I must touch upon is hopefulness and openness to the future. This is an echo of the affirmation that in spite of man's evil ways the world is good. It is rooted in the conviction that a community of men and women, be it university, church or state, who can listen to each other, believing that the spirit speaks where he chooses, stands a good chance of surviving and even of doing good things. It is based on the denial of inevitability, indeed an act of faith, but faith based in experience. I am hopeful about the future of the university in America and in the world. It is the place of freedom where all things can be questioned, where even Communists and Jesuits can be employed, where there is some possibility of healing many wounds, many divisions.

The very separation from the urgencies of daily life and business and government allows explorations in bridging gaps. The generations are thrown together in a less tense way than in the family living room or on the streets of Chicago. The races could face each other and hear what each is actually saying in a safer context than a neighborhood lately "invaded" by black home purchasers or a police court. Conservatives and liberals, believers and non-believers, hawks and doves, all can talk to each other, and about serious things, on the common campus, in the classroom and out. If there is to be a hope that these encounters be a true sharing of partial views, they must be meetings of those who can begin to love one another, which is to begin to accept one another as shares in the same spirit, even before there is agreement of minds. The attitude that demands of another man that he accept my truth before I can be at peace with him is not a gift of the spirit of God, but of the destroying spirit. And to despair of the university as a group of individuals which can build a community amid diversity, which can learn about the human condition and share what it learns, can intelligently criticize all institutions, even itself, is to choose darkness rather than the light, death rather than life. And light and life are the work of the spirit.

Let me finish with a quotation from Robert Kennedy. In terms of what I have said today, his reference to "pride" could be taken to that legitimate pride, which is humble in realizing that it is the spirit that moves in us to give us our possibility for good: Kennedy said: "Our future may lie beyond our vision, but it is not completely beyond our control. It is the sharing impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but also experience, and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live."

#### ASSISTANCE TO TUNISIA

**HON. OGDEN R. REID**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, this fall, the Republic of Tunisia experi-

enced 2 months of violent rainstorms, massive floods, and inundation of catastrophic proportions.

The damage is incredible; 10 out of 13 provinces are disaster areas and Tunisian resources to meet the crisis are exhausted. Five-hundred twenty people have died; 45,000 to 50,000 homes were destroyed; 165,000 people are homeless; 52 bridges were washed out; 60 miles of road and 120 miles of railroad track were ruined; one-quarter of the livestock is gone. In addition, a great deal of the topsoil—carefully preserved and cultivated in a country that has very little to begin with—was washed away. Irrigation networks were destroyed, especially in the area of Kairouan where Mexican high-yield wheat was being produced. It could take 7 or 8 years to restore Tunisia to economic viability.

From the outset, the United States has sought to be of assistance to Tunisia and her people. Initially, we provided helicopters and freed funds for emergency humanitarian aid. Later, we provided Bailey bridges, additional doctors, food, and medical supplies. I am confident that the United States will continue to supply every measure of public and private aid that it can. I am particularly hopeful that the Department of State and our Embassy in Tunis will utilize for local costs of reconstruction some of the \$7 to \$8 million in counterpart funds that we have available.

Recently, Foreign Minister Habib Bourguiba, Jr., was in the United States and I discussed with him some of the avenues of assistance now being explored. These include a private proposal wherein the U.S. industrial and banking community might help with the establishment of a factory to produce prefabricated housing utilizing concrete on a scale large enough to replace that which was destroyed.

In addition, a private group, the Committee of American Citizens for Aid to Tunisia in the Flood Emergency, has been established to encourage private assistance for reconstruction, especially in terms of roads, railroads, bridges, and housing; the replenishment of livestock; and the recultivation of land. The committee was formed in Tunis on October 22 by the American participants in the African-American Dialogs which included our colleagues, Mr. Diggs and Mr. Culver, as well as myself. Mrs. Arthur B. Krim of New York is the executive secretary, and, along with Frank Ferrari, vice president of the African-American Institute, has provided much of the impetus to gather a group of prominent and concerned Americans to this cause. I include in the Record at this point a list of the members of the committee, as constituted to date:

#### AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO TUNISIA MEMBERS

Mr. Andre O. Backar, First Vice President, Shearson, Hammill & Company, Inc., New York, New York; Mr. Edgar M. Bronfman, President, Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, New York, New York, and Senator Edward Brooke, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Congressman John Culver, House of Representatives, Washington, DC; Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., House of Representa-



tives, Washington, D.C., and Mr. Frank Ferrari, Vice President for External Relations, African-American Institute, New York, New York.

Mr. Wayne Fredericks, Vice President, Ford Foundation, New York, New York; Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, Paul Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkin, Wharton & Garrison, New York, New York, and Honorable Ernest A. Gross, Curtis-Mallet, Prevost, Colt & Mosie, New York, New York.

Dr. Charles V. Hamilton, Professor of Government, Columbia University, New York, New York; Honorable Paul Hoffman, Administrator, Development Program—United Nations, New York, New York, and Mrs. Jane Jacqz, Corporate Secretary, African-American Institute, New York, New York.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.; Senator Edward Kennedy, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., and Dr. James Kirk, Vice President, African-American Institute, New York, New York.

Mr. Arthur B. Krim, Chairman of the Board, United Artists Corporation, New York, New York; Mrs. Arthur B. Krim, Ph. D., Research Biologist, Executive Secretary, American Committee for Assistance to Tunisia, New York, New York, and Honorable David Lilienthal, Chairman & Chief Executive, Development and Resources Corporation, New York, New York.

Mr. George N. Lindsay, Partner, Debovoise, Plimpton, Lyons & Gates, New York, New York; Mr. Ian S. Michie, Vice President, Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, New York, and Mr. Bill Moyers, Publisher, Newsday, New York, New York.

Honorable Robert Murphy, Chairman of the Board—Former Under Secretary of State, Corning Glass International, New York, New York; Mr. Waldemar A. Nielsen, President, African-American Institute, New York, New York, and Honorable Christopher Phillips, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, New York, New York.

Honorable Ogden R. Reid, Congressman, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.; Mr. David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Board, Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, New York, and Honorable Dean Rusk, Former Secretary of State, Rockefeller Foundation, New York, New York.

Mr. Harvey Russell, Vice President, Pepsi-Cola Company, New York, New York; Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York, New York, and Mrs. Marietta Tree, New York, New York.

Mr. Jack Valenti, President, Motion Picture Association, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League, New York, New York, and Mr. Osborn Elliott, Editor-in-Chief, Newsweek, New York, New York.

(Committee still in formation).

## TV NETWORKS, LICENSES AND THE LAW

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the current controversy over the objectivity of the TV news media in its reporting of the news doubtlessly raises many questions among laymen as to the rights and responsibilities peculiar to this vehicle. The Senate Republican Memo, which is issued by the U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee, issued a short but useful study of various aspects of the TV field entitled "TV Networks, Licenses and the Law." Certainly not intended as a comprehensive treatment of this complex

subject, the study explores briefly the public interest, licensing functions of the FCC, licensing procedure, the commission's authority to intervene, the issue of censorship, and a short comment on one piece of legislation now before the Senate.

Without going into the complexities of this sector of the communications field, "TV Networks, Licenses and the Law" provides useful information for use as background material in evaluating the pros and cons of the present TV imbroglio. Following is the text of the study which was issued on December 4, 1969:

#### TV NETWORKS, LICENSES AND THE LAW

##### INTRODUCTION

In the controversy over bias in television news reporting, the impression has been generated that the Nixon Administration can in some way censor what goes on the air.

Officials and commentators of the 3 major commercial networks have implied this threat of Government control by alluding to "licenses" which can be revoked, thus depriving them of the right to do business. To delineate the framework for any discussion of television's role in presenting news to the public, or Government "reprisals," several facts should be emphasized at the outset.

First, the billion-dollar television networks do not need, and have never needed, licenses to operate their networks.

Second, the power to license or refuse to license television or radio stations is vested solely in an independent agency, and not the Administration.

Third, no Government agency, Federal, State or local, has the power to dictate programming or internal management of any commercial television or radio station.

Finally, existing law clearly and without equivocation prohibits any agency from attempting to censor any radio or television program.

In sum, what goes on the air for profit in the United States is subject only to such restraints as television industry management itself dictates. Whether news is fair or unfair, objective or biased, accurate or careless, is left to the consciences of the commentators, producers and network officials themselves.

Government does not and can not play any role in its presentation.

In any discussion of this problem reference must be confined to commercial television and radio because many local government agencies, such as public as well as private colleges, schools, etc., do own and operate educational television stations and networks. Obviously, content of the programs of such institutions can be—sometimes even in the case of private schools—controlled by local government officials involved.

##### THE PUBLIC INTEREST

From the outset of radio communications, when radio was confined to ship-to-shore signaling, it was determined the airwaves were public domain, even international domain, and those who used them must be licensed. One of the early illustrations was the creation of an international distress frequency for ships of 500 kilocycles. Early radio licensing in the U.S. was done by the Secretary of Commerce, but by the middle 1920's the situation in this country had grown so chaotic that President Coolidge recommended a complete new approach.

In 1927 the Radio Act created a 5-member Federal Radio Commission with authority to allocate call letters, frequencies and power for both commercial and noncommercial stations. Its authority was expanded by the 1934 Communications Act which created the present 7-member independent Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and established its control over broadcasting and other interstate communication systems.

FCC Commissioners are appointed by the President subject to Senate confirmation. The FCC Act requires that no more than 4 Members be of the same Party.

The 1934 Act clearly reaffirmed ownership of radio frequencies by the United States and provided for "the use of such channels but not the ownership thereof by persons for limited periods of time under license granted by Federal authority..." (Emphasis added).

Section 309 of the 1934 Act provides, "The Commission shall determine whether the public interest, convenience and necessity will be served" by granting or renewing specific licenses (Emphasis added).

Licenses to operate radio and television stations are limited by law to 3 years. Such licenses may be renewed repeatedly, but in both the original application for a license and subsequent renewal applications the FCC is required to provide a hearing procedure, if there is a contest, at which all interested parties may present written evidence for or against the application.

The courts have held that the public has a right to be heard at these FCC proceedings. In a 1966 decision the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held that the listening public had a right to participate in hearings. In a landmark decision involving Station WLBT-TV, Jackson, Mississippi, on June 23, 1969, the same court held that complaining citizens should be considered allies of the Commission and that the burden of proof lies with the broadcasters in defending themselves against complaints by the public.

##### LICENSING FUNCTION OF FCC

As anyone who has twisted a radio dial knows, the number of channels available for radio and television broadcasting is limited, with the higher frequencies being able to accommodate more channels than lower ones. The FCC's first function was thus the licensing of those privileged to use the channels. There are only 107 AM channels and 80 FM channels for radio. The "TV band" can hold only 12 VHF and 70 UHF commercial channels. Other frequency bands are reserved for special uses such as defense, research, international short wave and the like.

By limiting power, type of operation and hours of use, the same channel can be used simultaneously in several different parts of the country without interference between the signals, although, even so, very powerful receivers must have special capability built in to screen out distant interference. In 1968 there were 642 television and 4,651 radio stations licensed by FCC throughout the country. Much thought, obviously, has had to go into the physical locations of stations on the same or very close frequencies.

Each of these licenses is immensely valuable. Last year, according to figures released by the Commission, the radio-television industry grossed some \$3,543,800,000 with an industry-wide profit of some \$608.2 million before taxes.

Because of the profit to be made there is intense competition for licenses. The FCC has developed an intricate procedure by which the licenses are granted.

##### LICENSING PROCEDURE

Applicants for radio or television station licenses must be American citizens or, if the application is made by a corporation, the principal owners of the corporation must be American citizens. The applicants must be able to prove their own technical, legal and financial ability to operate a station.

Applicants must also prove to the satisfaction of the Commission that they meet the standards of public need, convenience and interest.

If the application is unchallenged the Commission may grant a construction permit without holding a public hearing. But

if there is a challenge or if the Commission finds the applicants do not meet standards, a public hearing must be held. At such a hearing all interested parties including the listening public are invited to present factual testimony.

In renewing a license much the same procedure is involved. The station must provide the Commission with proof that it has lived up to its promises as to programming, and that it has fulfilled its obligations as to public need, convenience and interest.

If the application for renewal is unchallenged, the Commission can grant the renewal without a hearing. However, if there is a challenge, either by a competing applicant or by members of the community in which the station operates, the Commission is obliged to set a hearing, giving the parties concerned notice at least 60 days in advance of the hearing.

The applicant for renewal, any competing applicants, and the general public are entitled to present factual evidence at the hearing. The Commission may then grant or deny the renewal application, or it may turn the disputed channel over to a competing applicant.

#### NO AUTHORITY TO INTERVENE

Once a license is granted, however, the Commission has no authority to intervene in station policy, programming, or management. The only employees of a radio or television station who are required to hold licenses are the engineers who actually operate and maintain the transmitter, and this solely to insure that a station's signals remain rigorously on frequency and do not interfere with signals from some other licensee.

FCC has no authority over any other personnel, such as disc jockeys, announcers, newscasters, etc. The station's relations with its employees are also its own business.

The Commission has been under considerable pressure from time to time to take a more active role in "policing" broadcasts. It has invariably maintained that the basic law precludes such interference. In 1960 the Commission issued a statement on policy which reads in part:

"In the fulfillment of his obligation the broadcaster should consider the tastes, needs and desires of the public he is licensed to serve in developing his programming and should exercise conscientious efforts not only to ascertain them but also to carry them out as well as he reasonably can. He should reasonably attempt to meet all such needs and interests on an equitable basis. Particular areas of interest and types of appropriate service may, of course, differ from community to community, and from time to time. However, the Commission does expect its broadcast licensees to take the necessary steps to inform themselves of the real needs and interests of the areas they serve and to provide programming which in fact constitutes a diligent effort, in good faith, to provide for those needs and interests.

"The major elements usually necessary to meet the public interest, needs and desires of the community in which the station is located as developed by the industry, and recognized by the Commission, have included: (1) Opportunity for Local Self-Expression, (2) The Development and Use of Local Talent, (3) Programs for Children, (4) Religious Programs, (5) Educational Programs, (6) Public Affairs Programs, (7) Editorialization by Licensees, (8) Political Broadcasts, (9) Agricultural Programs, (10) News Programs, (11) Weather and Market Reports, (12) Sports Programs, (13) Service to Minority Groups, (14) Entertainment Programming.

"The elements set out above are neither all-embracing nor constant. We re-emphasize that they do not serve and have never been intended as a rigid mold or fixed formula for station operation. The ascertainment of the needed elements of the broadcast matter to

be provided by a particular licensee for the audience he is obligated to serve remains primarily the function of the licensee. His honest and prudent judgments will be accorded great weight by the Commission. Indeed, any other course would tend to substitute the judgment of the Commission for that of the licensee."

#### NO CENSORSHIP

FCC has consistently declared that anything further would be in violation of section 326 of the Communications Act which states:

"Nothing in this Act shall be understood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the Commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication."

Congressional intent to prohibit any form of Government censorship was strengthened in 1948 by the 80th Congress which removed from section 326 a second sentence contained in the original Act of 1934, which was as follows: "No person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication." This provision of the law was removed because it contained the seeds of censorship.

Thus, the Federal Communications Commission is the only instrument of Government with any control over the operation of commercial radio and television stations in the United States. Its power is limited largely to the allocation of radio spectrum space between parties contending for the profitable use of the public's airwaves. The Commission is precluded by law from exercising censorship of any kind, or using its licensing power to enforce control, or influence, over the individual programming of individual stations. It has no control over, nor any means whatsoever of influencing, the programs offered by the networks to the broadcasting stations. Such controls do exist, for commercial purposes (to prevent duplication in the same broadcast area, for example), but these controls are strictly exercised by the networks themselves as a portion of the commodity they are selling.

#### NEW LEGISLATION

The Senate Commerce Committee is presently holding hearings on S. 2004, which would directly affect the renewal of broadcast licenses.

Sponsored by Sen. John Pastore (D., R.I.), S. 2004, which would "establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses," is the direct result of an FCC decision denying renewal of the license of WWDH-TV, owned by the Boston Traveler-Herald newspaper. The application for renewal was challenged by a competing applicant because of the station's newspaper connection. FCC agreed that this connection was grounds for refusing renewal, and awarded the license to a competing applicant.

In effect, the Pastore bill requires the FCC first to consider the application renewal. Only if the FCC finds such renewal not in the public interest would it be allowed to consider applications by other parties for the license in question.

#### THE POLARIZATION ISSUE

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the question of polarization in our society is

being debated and discussed daily—in Congress, in the press, on college and university campuses, and in our communities. It is an issue vital to this Nation's future, for the quality of life in America can never be improved over the long haul if we find ourselves divided into hostile camps.

Two recent columns, one serious, the other humorous, give meaningful perspective to the polarization issue. I commend to the attention of my colleagues the wit and wisdom of Tom Wicker and Art Buchwald:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 30, 1969]

How To "BRING US TOGETHER"

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, November 29.—Because of Vice President Agnew's belligerent oratory and the Administration's recent counteroffensive against antiwar dissenters, it is now fashionable to charge Mr. Nixon and his associates with trying to "polarize" the citizenry. The irony of this is often remarked upon, since the President had proclaimed that he hoped to "bring us together."

In fact, it was apparent long ago, to anyone who looked closely, that the Nixon Administration was choosing a strange way to unify a country torn by racial animosity. This was apparent, as David Ginsburg put it in a hard-hitting speech he recently delivered in Pittsburgh, when there became visible "a series of signals to the South that the imminent threat of integration was over; that *Brown v. the Board of Education* would henceforth be enforced with more deliberation than speed; that voting rights would be put on a back burner, that there would be fewer blacks in high government offices, and all the rest. This was a program for liquidating old political debts and coining new political currency. It had potentially explosive and disastrous results. . . ."

Ginsburg is well qualified to make such a judgment; he was executive director of President Johnson's Commission on Civil Disorders, a body which probably inquired as closely as anyone ever has into the racial situation in America. But since that monumental effort, in 1967 and early 1968, he has discerned two significant shifts in the racial "battleground."

After the climactic big-city riots following the murder of Martin Luther King in April, 1968, Ginsburg told his Pittsburgh audience, public disorders began to occur mostly in small cities, while in major urban areas the action shifted to the black high schools.

#### WHAT DIDN'T HAPPEN

The result of this transition, Ginsburg said, was that "the quantity of racial disturbances has been rising steadily during the past two years with hundreds of small outbreaks taking place during the hot months . . . but the most important thing about this period of transition is what did not happen. After the summer of 1967 all the experts—black militants, college professors, and Pentagon counterinsurgency types alike—were predicting a switch from ghetto rioting to guerrilla tactics in white neighborhoods . . . but that's not what happened."

Rather, Ginsburg said, impartial investigation showed that black violence in America was not conspiratorial nor revolutionary but was directed toward winning a place in the American system. In fact, "the frustration and rage that erupts in ghetto riots is a conservative, not a radical force. It seeks to participate in the system, not to destroy it. The proof lies in the fact that despite the intense emotional heat generated within the Negro community by the black revolt and the Black Power movement, radical elements have so far been completely unable to take charge."

That being the case, Ginsburg said, "again, the scene of the action is shifting—the new



battlegrounds are the police forces, the fire departments, the corporate headquarters, the craft unions and the military. This is where the real payoffs will come—in the institutions that control employment, and with it income, advancement and status."

#### THE POLARIZATION

It is precisely for this reason that the politics of polarization—the insistence upon a "great silent majority" opposed to black aspirations, liberal thought, and intellectual approaches—being practiced by the Nixon Administration is so irresponsible, dangerous and self-defeating. Obviously, the way to get things done in a democracy is to pull as many groups as possible together in support of common interests. Ginsburg brilliantly defined the most pressing of these interests: "The reality of bad schools which can't teach kids to read in lily-white suburban areas any better than black center-city ghettos.

"The reality of housing costs which are out of reach of even middle class professionals, black and white, who now find themselves frightened out of the cities and priced out of the suburbs.

"The reality of crime that creates a terrifying sense of insecurity for all who cannot afford the private security systems that are available only in the 'best' neighborhoods.

"The reality of skyrocketing medical and hospital costs, auto insurance costs and utility charges.

"The reality of a legal system that alienates everyone it touches except the very rich who can keep out of its reach.

"The reality of inflation that steals the savings of every working man, without regard to color.

"The reality of a tax system whose highest rewards are reserved for those with the highest incomes."

Only of the last two of these realities can it fairly be said that the Nixon Administration is proceeding vigorously and with generous regard for a broad spectrum of popular interests. It would be better politics and better government if Mr. Nixon really tried to "bring us together" on these issues rather than giving his tacit consent to the barren and divisive tactics that would array the great silent majority against everybody else.

#### THE SNAGGED FLAG

(By Art Buchwald)

President Nixon's promise to bring the country together doesn't seem to be working too well. If anything, people are more polarized than they've ever been before.

A friend of mine, Mrs. Johnston, told me the other day what happened to her when she decided to fly the flag on Veterans' Day. Mrs. Johnston's been flying the American flag every Veterans' Day without receiving much comfort. But this year her effort became the cause celebre on the block.

The first person to mention it was a neighbor from across the street who congratulated her for flying the flag and asked her to sign a petition to impeach Justice William Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Mrs. Johnston said she wasn't interested in signing any petitions against the Supreme Court.

"Then why are you flying the American flag?" the neighbor demanded.

"Because it's Veterans' Day," she said.

"Would you be willing to go to a rally tomorrow against teaching sex education in the schools?" the neighbor demanded.

Mrs. Johnston said she wouldn't.

The neighbor said angrily, "And I believed you were a good American."

A little later the neighbor's son, a college student, said, "Mrs. Johnston, I thought you were sympathetic to our getting out of Vietnam."

"I am," Mrs. Johnston said.

"Then why are you flying the American flag?"

"Flying the American flag has nothing to do with my feelings on Vietnam, Bobby. It is our flag and I believe it should be displayed on national holidays."

"What about all the innocent people whose villages have been burned and bombed, and the profiteering South Vietnamese generals who have numbered bank accounts in Switzerland?" Bobby said.

"That has nothing to do with the flag."

"Only super-hawks fly the flag," said Bobby, as he walked away in a huff.

A little later Mrs. Johnston received a call from the lady down the street. "Mrs. Johnston, I notice you're flying the American flag. Would you be interested in joining the American Legion Auxiliary?"

Mrs. Johnston said, "No, my husband isn't a member of the American Legion so there is no reason for me to join the auxiliary."

"You had us fooled, Mrs. Johnston," the lady said, "I'm sorry I called."

The delivery boy from the local market arrived at this moment and he said, "You hate me because I have long hair, don't you, Mrs. Johnston?"

"I don't hate you," Mrs. Johnston protested.

"I saw the flag outside," the delivery boy said, "I know how you people think." He slammed the groceries on the table and left.

The plumber arrived to do some work, but when he saw the flag he decided Mrs. Johnston would be interested in how he felt about "People who are on welfare and don't do any work and who are always waiting for handouts, and how the protesters ought to all be put in jail . . ."

It cost Mrs. Johnston an extra \$9 an hour to listen to the plumber's political philosophy.

When Mr. Johnston came home from work, Mrs. Johnston told him everything that happened during the day.

"Don't feel bad," he told her. "I was driving without my lights on today and a taxi driver yelled at me, 'If you don't like America, why don't you go back to the Soviet Union where you belong?'"

#### WHAT IS SOVIET GOAL?

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, too often opinions on foreign affairs developments are based on wishful thinking and naivete rather than pragmatic perception of the developments.

Mr. Dumitru Danielopol, international authority of the Copley News Service has the facility to penetrate the clouds of wishful thinking to objectively report on current international developments. His article in the following November 19 Elgin, Ill., Daily Courier News demonstrates this:

#### WHAT IS SOVIET GOAL?

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—Is the West being tempted by another baited Soviet trap? Is it going to take the proposed European Security Conference seriously?

From Prague on Oct. 31 the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact nations renewed their bid to Western Europe for such a conference sometime next year.

The idea in itself is ludicrous. Who but the Soviet Union and its satellites threaten the security of Europe?

NATO was created to protect the West against Russian expansionism which continues with unrestrained vigor in the Mediterranean, the Middle East and beyond.

Nonetheless the seed sown in Prague has found some fertile soil.

The proposal was discussed by NATO ministers in Brussels. Some members, notably Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and West Germany, were interested in an encouraging reply. Their enthusiasm was dampened by the U.S. delegation which argued that the Soviets have given no clear indication that they are genuinely interested in meaningful talks which could bring a genuine detente.

The idea isn't new. Russia tried it in 1954 as a "gimmick" to keep West-Germany out of NATO. It tried it again in 1966 to capitalize on De Gaulle's attempt to lessen American influence in Europe.

Another trial balloon was raised last April by Bulgaria when the Bulgarian ambassador in London approached former Tory Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home asking him to endorse such a conference. At the same time the President of the Bulgarian Parliament made a similar appeal to the President of the West German parliament.

"We want to force the hand of the United States," they told the West.

The question was discussed at the Council of Europe meeting in Strasbourg several weeks later and some Western delegates showed considerable interest in embarking on talks with the East.

The new proposals talk of "renunciation of the use of force or the threatened use of force in relations among European states."

Why is a new treaty necessary when all the nations involved have already made such a pledge under the United Nations Charter which says that:

"The signatories undertake to refrain from the threat of force or use of force . . ." pledges which were broken by the Soviet Union and some of her stooges when they marched into Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

What are the Russians really seeking? Several goals come to mind.

—The recognition of the status quo in Eastern Europe.

—The recognition of Eastern Germany as an independent entity.

—The weakening of the NATO alliance.

—The withdrawal of American forces from Europe.

Though the Prague suggestions have been rejected, that doesn't mean that the Russians have given up, or are likely to do so. The climate in Europe is playing in their hands.

The new Chancellor of West Germany Willy Brandt's overtures to the East must be very encouraging to the Communists.

In many Western capitals there also is serious concern about the United States reliability and an ally in a confrontation with the Soviet Union. Their confidence has been shaken by the anti-Vietnam demonstrations and "moratoriums."

There also is increasing uncertainty at the American resolve to risk nuclear devastation in the defense of NATO.

The next few months will tell. If pressures on President Nixon to bring the boys home increase, if the President is not given the respite he seeks to bring the Vietnam War to an honorable conclusion one might find our allies in Europe inclined to seek alternatives to NATO.

The United States has already withdrawn 32,000 men from Europe. Canada's contribution has been slashed. If the trend continues in 1970, observers in Europe say, the Western Allies might seriously seek their own accommodations with the Communists.

# TO BEAUTIFY AMERICA—FATTEN UP A CHILD

**HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the future of many children may well depend upon the conditions of their stomachs. There are reported to be 10,000 children in the District of Columbia who do not attend school regularly because they do not have food or clothing. Many mothers prefer to keep their children at home hungry than send them to school where other children will be eating.

The simple truth is that a hungry child cannot learn and a hungry adult cannot work. Until poor people are properly fed, we cannot expect to educate them, to train them, or to free them of the devastating effects of the poverty cycle.

We must remove hunger from the stage of reports, recommendation, and rhetoric. Hunger in America is a real problem—that it exists is shameful, but the lack of a national commitment to eliminate it is disgraceful.

As one mother put it—if you want to beautify America, fatten up a child. Trees would not fill his stomach or put a smile on his mother's face.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the following editorial from the St. Louis Post Dispatch of December 4, 1969, to my colleagues:

## PLAYING POLITICS WITH HUNGER

President Nixon's claim that he accepts the responsibility to end hunger in the United States would be an assertion of statesmanlike proportions were it not that there is so little to suggest that he truly intends to accomplish such an enormous mission. His remarks at the opening of the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health carry the ring of campaign rhetoric, reminiscent of platform promises that candidates make but rarely keep.

Having announced his responsibility for ending hunger, Mr. Nixon put forth not a single new proposal. He asked neither for money nor for more programs, choosing in their stead to emphasize legislative measures he already has sent to Congress. These include his family assistance program and an expanded food stamp system, both of which will go a long way toward alleviating the misery of poverty and hunger. But they will not go all the way and it is wrong for the President to suggest that they will.

Several of the conference committees already have made public recommendations which go far beyond the Administration's proposals. A theme common to several of these is that food benefit programs, such as food stamps, should be expanded but only as an interim measure until a genuinely adequate national income maintenance program is established. "All other problems of nutrition fade into insignificance beside the fact that 25,000,000 Americans, or more, are living on an income that prevents them from getting enough to eat," one committee said.

This committee, representing community organizations, called for a minimum income of \$6570 for a family of four. But pressure is building for an income of \$5500 for families of this size. Other proposals included \$125 worth of free food stamps each month to families with monthly incomes less than \$100, the expenditure of 1.5 billion dollars for free or reduced-price school meals, mobile food stores for rural areas and a nationwide

service to seek out the hungry and the malnourished.

By contrast, Mr. Nixon's proposal would guarantee poor families an annual income of \$2350, which might eliminate outright starvation but, given the spiraling price of food, certainly not hunger. A bill to increase the federal food stamp budget to 2.5 billion dollars is stalled in the House and there is evidence that the Administration is lobbying for its rejection. Senator McGovern of South Dakota claims that an Agriculture Department memorandum calls for the defeat of the bill on the ground that "we can't afford it."

The question that emerges is why Mr. Nixon felt it necessary to make such an extravagant statement, especially before the bulk of the conference reports were considered. The most likely answer is that the President was playing politics, attempting, among other things, to silence critics such as Senator McGovern who contend that Mr. Nixon is substituting rhetoric for an effective plan of action. If it is politics he is playing, we think it will prove to be poor politics in the long run.

## NEW LAWYERS MOVE IN NEW DIRECTIONS

**HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, we are all searching for relevancy—in our job, in our lives, and in our daily decisionmaking. Our educational institutions, in particular, grope and grasp for it; some vocations have responded, some continue to search, others have failed.

Legal education provides a good example. Most law schools in the past simply presented students basic hornbook bread-and-butter courses which were most meaningful for making money and representing those people, vested interests, and institutions which were the lawyer's traditional clients. I suppose the profession responded to what seemed to be its needs at that time.

Today, concepts of educational relevancy have changed. Take the law student who travels in from suburbia to the city school. His train or car takes him past the ghetto, the disenfranchised, the poor, the lost, and the outcast, and when he arrives in class he is taught, for example, the rule in Shelly's case. Is this relevant to the socially committed law student of today? I am not suggesting that the school do away with these courses, but I wonder if they could not broaden their perspectives, and the student's preparation to meet the relevant needs of society.

Attorneys, like many other professionals, are questioning their role in society. It is particularly a difficult task for the legal profession. Traditionally, the lawyer is the one who protects vested interests and institutions. He protects corporations, banks, clients with money to pay, the Federal Government, and so forth, leaving those outside the system without adequate legal assistance.

In the traditional sense, the lawyer is conservative; he protects the status quo. Even his argument process, the entire adversary procedure, is based on the slow

system of arguing precedents and analogies.

Now, legal education in some universities is finally awakening to ideas that it is just as relevant to prepare lawyers to represent "outsiders" and that new types of legal aggression and dynamics can be applied to the profession. We see this in the Student Legal Aid Society and other sundry student law movements and programs.

The legal profession itself has begun to respond to these old needs, now first employed. Over the past years we have witnessed establishment of the Neighborhood Legal Services, Legal Aid Societies, Poverty Law Centers—places where poor citizens can feel they can get competent legal assistance.

While the legal profession—and legal education—have begun responding, it is just a start. More must be accomplished. I am proud to say that California has led the way among States in this progressive and worthwhile movement.

At this point I would like to insert in the RECORD an article from the November 19, 1969, New York Times which shows the willingness of new lawyers to enter new fields of relevancy—moves which I find quite encouraging. The article follows:

## NEW LAWYERS BYPASS WALL STREET (By Robert Reinhold)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., November 18.—Back in 1958, the editors of the student-run Harvard Law Review took note of the mounting numbers of young lawyers rushing to join the large private law firms in New York and Washington.

"The opportunities offered by the large firms seem more attractive than ever," said the journal, then headed by Richard N. Goodwin, who was later to become a confidant of President Kennedy. "Of course no editor disdains these things and most are very grateful that there is a demand for young lawyers by the large firms."

Eleven years later, the editors of the Review and many of the 68,000 other law students across the country find much reason to disdain corporate law as they shift to areas traditionally neglected by law such as poverty, pollution, consumer affairs, social reform and research.

## SYMBOL OF CHANGE

Of 39 editors graduating next spring—considered to be the top Harvard law students—it seems unlikely that any will enter private practice immediately. "We are not interested in what they are interested in," said one of the students of the Wall Street law firms.

This shift in attitude in a single decade symbolizes the changes that are sweeping American legal education, which critics have accused of preparing young lawyers to represent wealthy corporations and seldom the poor, the minorities or the consumer.

Traditionally among the most consecutive students on campus, many law students are now viewing law more as a powerful lever for the reform of society's ills and less as an intellectual or business endeavor. They are challenging the assumptions of law and are intensely unhappy with the quality of their education.

To assess the impact of these forces, deans, professors and students were interviewed at major American law schools from Cambridge to Berkeley. These are some of the trends taking shape in many of the nation's 169 law schools:

A broadening of course topics to equip lawyers to handle new clients. While they must still grapple with such pillars of legal



training as contracts, property, torts and legal methods, students can also choose from offerings such as "Race, Racism and American Law" (Harvard), "Law for the Poor in an Affluent Society" (Columbia), "Consumer Protection" (Stanford), "Natural Resources" (California) and "Urban Public Schools System" (Chicago). Even criminal law, once a poor second cousin to corporate law, has gained new glamour. The courses now frequently cover new urban problems—rent strikes, riots, drug use and the sexual revolution.

New emphasis on clinical work to impart practical skills, to bring students into contact with "real people" and to alleviate experience in their third year. Next semester, Stanford will send 14 students on experimental field projects. Last spring, eight Harvard students studied the workings of various city agencies in Boston.

New "ecumenical" appointments and joint programs with other departments in the university to help put law in social perspective. Stanford now offers economic, political science or business. The Harvard faculty includes a psychiatrist who also teaches at the medical school.

New small seminars and individual study projects to increase flexibility and allow the student to break out of the "monolithic block step" of three years in law school, as Prof. Tom Ehrlich of Stanford puts it.

#### A RELAXED CLIMATE

As these changes occur, even the appearance of the schools has been altered. Once havens of buttoned-down shirts, striped ties, dark suits and clean shaves, law school corridors are now filled with many Army jackets, bellbottom trousers and beards.

In this relaxed climate, students from minority groups and women are finding new opportunities. At Berkeley, a Mexican-American has been elected student body president. The student, Richard Bessera, walks around in sandals, a polo shirt under a vest and wears a big "Mexican-American Liberation" button.

"There's a real awakening among law students," he says. On graduation, Mr. Bessera may enter a rural legal aid association or even a private firm doing integration work. "I am not interested in the Wall Street-type," he says.

Just what all this augurs for the Wall Street firms, accustomed to taking the cream of the student crop, is not yet clear. There are no national statistics, but the portion of graduates going directly into private practice from Harvard, for example, has dropped from 65 per cent in 1968.

Some may drift back to establishment after brief tours with poverty agencies and offices of public prosecutors, or as law clerks for judges. But many experts believe the trend is a permanent one.

#### FEELING THE PINCH

"All I have to say is that the Wall Street firms are simply going to have to learn to broaden their representation or they will not get the very best people," says Prof. Alan M. Dershowitz of Harvard.

The firms have evidently begun to feel the pinch. Students report salary offers as high as \$18,000 to start from big New York firms—a figure more than doubled in 10 years. In addition, many firms now encourage so-called "probono" work—time off from normal duties to perform public service.

The new student idealism is manifested in a greatly heightened interest in student legal aid bureaus. These groups, proliferating all over the country, represent the poor in family relations cases, rent disputes, criminal cases and other matters.

The desire to carry on these interests after graduation is sometimes thwarted by lack of opportunities. "Where do you go if you want to represent consumers against Con Edison?" says Robert Hornick, a 25-year-old college student from Pittsburgh.

Some go into poverty work. Programs funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity now have 1,800 staff lawyers who receive from \$11,000 to \$12,000. In addition, the Federal antipoverty agency offers 250 scholarships a year for training in poverty law.

Others are going to work as clerks for judges, into teaching or into law "communes" specializing in draft, tenant and consumer cases.

#### NIXON A FACTOR

But one important avenue to public service—through Federal Government agencies—is shunned by many students who are becoming increasingly skeptical of the Nixon Administration. "Nobody is going into the Justice Department under John Mitchell because they are going to have to leave after a few days," one Harvard student said.

All these factors have combined to place a heavy strain on the law schools. While most professors seem to welcome the new idealism of their students, many fear that the lawyerly skills will be lost in the shuffle.

"Our primary mission is to produce well-trained people with analytic skills and ability to express themselves effectively on legal matters, whether on Wall Street or in Harlem," says Prof. Richard H. Field of Harvard. "A good many come to law school with the notion that emotion is more important than reason and that if you are right enough it doesn't make any difference if you are analytically sound."

#### ROLE OF THE LAWYER

The academics point out that the system under attack has produced such effective social reformers as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis D. Brandeis and Learned Hand, as well as Ralph Nader, the consumer advocate.

"The fact that men like Nader have been able to be so effective is that they are so competently trained," says Philip C. Neal, the dean of law at the University of Chicago. The changes in attitude about legal education have led to some profound rethinking about the role of the lawyer in society. Is he just an advocate, or does he have some special responsibility as author of legislation and as court lawyer—to shape social policy?

"I think he has a unique capacity as a social engineer" says Prof. Albert J. Rosenthal of Columbia. "And I would like to see it employed in social problems rather than just helping some corporation cut down on its income taxes. We need everything. It is certainly not our intention to train only for Wall Street—in fact the firms complain we are turning out activists."

"My fear is that, when these students in their twenties become 40 or 50, they will enter the same stuffed-shirt Wall Street pattern they now deplore. I welcome this activism and hope they will live up to it."

#### BIG TRUCK BILL

### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from the Provo, Utah, Herald, in the State of Utah. The editorial follows:

[From the Provo (Utah) Herald, Aug. 3, 1969]

#### BIGGER TRUCKS ON THE ROAD?

The trucking industry, engaged in a determined campaign for the last year or so to persuade the government to give even larger trucks the run of the nation's roads, has lately come up with a new argument to bolster its case.

Industry spokesmen asserted in congress-

sional hearings that the size and weight hikes desired would actually contribute to highway safety. Their reasoning is that by abandoning the present weight limit—73,280 pounds—for trucks on the interstate system and adopting instead an axle-spacing formula, weight distribution would be improved. Trucks might be heavier—up to 92,500 pounds—and wider, but also better-balanced, and therefore less of a hazard to trucks, passenger car drivers, bridges and the roadways themselves.

There is no question that trucking is a vital element in the transport system of a consumption-happy society or that there are valid arguments for bringing existing regulations into line with changing needs of the industry and public, improved technology and highway facilities.

But this is one that is likely to be difficult to sell to drivers who have had white-knuckled experience maneuvering around and among present width and weight trucks, or struggled to keep a car on the road in the gale-force winds frequently created in passing or being passed by trucks.

#### SESAME STREET

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, November 10, a new era began in American educational television. "Sesame Street," a thoroughly researched and enjoyable children's educational program began a 26-week series on more than 170 television stations throughout the country.

"Sesame Street" is the result of a unique cooperative effort by the U.S. Office of Education, the Carnegie Corp., and the Ford Foundation. In 1968 these three agencies determined that extensive television viewing consumed a substantial portion of the children's time. More than 96 percent of all American homes have at least one television set and young children watch television for about 50 or 60 hours each week.

The Children's Television Workshop was created to research and develop an experimental series of programs which would educate young children and make them more receptive to learning. "Sesame Street," a program designed and produced for the preschool youngster, is the result of these efforts. This highly absorbing and delightful series was developed over a long period of intensive research into what children react to, how they learn, what they retain, and how they are able to apply what they learn to specific situations.

A few weeks ago, Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney, executive director of the Children's Television Workshop, testified before the General Subcommittee on Education about the actual educational potential of American television. Mrs. Cooney said at that time that half of the Nation's school districts have no kindergartens and only about one in four children from so-called disadvantaged areas are exposed to any program that might be called potentially educative.

The General Education Subcommittee, which I serve as chairman, is now conducting extensive hearings on the

educational needs of the elementary and secondary schools for the 1970's. It is through projects such as "Sesame Street" that the children of this new decade which dawn in the next few weeks will be well prepared to face the challenges of school, and most important, to succeed as students and later as adults.

"Sesame Street" is for all youngsters of preschool age. This widely tested and finely crafted program for children can be seen in cities throughout America.

## UNREST IN OUR COLLEGES IS MANY-FACETED, COMPLEX

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, December 9, 1969*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, discussions with students, faculty members, trustees, officers, and townspeople at 10 colleges and universities developed an intriguing pattern of what is at the base of the current unrest.

Such discussions were conducted, analyzed, and reported in a series of articles by Ronald J. Maselka of the Washington staff of the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News.

In previous insertions in the RECORD on December 5 and December 8, I included the texts of the first 15 articles. Following are the remaining stories of this excellent 22-part series:

### PART XVI—POLITICAL AND MORAL INVOLVEMENT: CRUCIAL DECISION FOR UNIVERSITIES

(By Ronald J. Maselka)

MADISON, Wis., October 23.—From a high-rise office building on the University of Wisconsin campus here, one gets two extreme views of sparkling Lake Mendota.

Short-range, one sees the water rippling along the campus shoreline. Long-range, one sees the water ending at a less distinct, distant shore.

Like other universities, Wisconsin today is acting with this dual vision in response to campus unrest.

It has taken short-range steps towards disciplinary procedures to contain the disruptive violence of the minority of students. However, it is also undergoing a massive re-evaluation of all aspects of university life, designed to defuse the underlying unrest and provide long-term direction.

"We've got to make a lot of changes," said Dr. Edwin Young, chancellor of the Madison campus. "Change for its own sake is not necessary but re-evaluating things is always necessary. We might end up doing the same things we are doing but we will do them with more assurance."

### POLITICAL LIFE TOO?

To a certain extent, universities are hampered in their long-range efforts because some key issues fueling campus unrest—the Vietnam war and the draft—are out of their direct control.

One main question being debated today is to what extent the university should get politically involved.

The trend toward political involvement is evidenced in things like faculty resolutions urging an end to the Vietnam war and universities shutting down for the Oct. 15 moratorium.

Opponents feel this is a bad precedent that violates the rights of individuals.

As one dean, who finds the political trend disturbing, noted: "Universities as corporate bodies have not taken stands on political

issues. The university is now being asked to be an advocate, where before it was a host of varying opinions . . . people see the university as a place of great prestige and influence and perhaps they are misreading the situation."

### UNIVERSITIES NOT NEUTRAL

Steven Reiner, editor of Wisconsin's student newspaper, The Daily Cardinal, takes the opposite viewpoint.

"Increasing numbers of students are demanding that the university take moral positions on the great issues of the day," he said. He noted that because of involvement with government and the military, "the universities are not neutral."

This leads to another key issue: What kind of research should the university engage in? Who should make the decision, the individual researcher or the university?

Mr. Reiner, for instance, notes student opposition to Wisconsin's math research center, which is sponsored by the Army.

"We should use the buildings, money and space for more humane things," he said, suggesting a better student health clinic or a center for fighting pollution, preserving Wisconsin's lakes or studying the population explosion.

Some universities have responded to this type of criticism by dropping all classified or top-secret research as being alien to the university's climate.

### SERVING SOCIETY

But there are some who argue that the government should be able to expect expert assistance from the university.

Each university community must work out for itself how it will strike a balance between education, research and public service.

The latter, however, raises another subject of vigorous campus debate: What balance will the university strike between being an "ivory tower" and a social service organization?

One professor says "The most ominous thing is the tendency for higher education to minister to every need of society . . . I feel there is still some room for an institution in American society that is above the battle, interested in the refinement of culture, the acquisition of knowledge."

In a recent interview, Dr. Andrew W. Cordier, president of Columbia University, noted that he believes the university's key role in the community is one of adviser. "We do not want to tell it what to do . . . if there's a sound relationship with the community, the intellectual life of the university is enhanced."

### A DEAN FOR ALL SEASONS

Many universities are relying on discussions with community leaders to determine how the university can make its greatest contribution.

Like Wisconsin, many also are attempting to make "better communications" a reality, instead of just a hackneyed phrase.

For instance, Leroy Luberg, Wisconsin's dean for public services, explained his role is to do whatever possible to relate the university and its research to "Wisconsin's economy, government and culture."

For instance, he is planning 150 meetings during the coming year with area community leaders, bar associations, teachers, labor groups, parents and alumni to discuss the problems, goals and contributions of the university.

"This is the hard way to do it," he said. "The easy way is to send out a pretty brochure. But it's got to be a two-way thing. You need dialogue. It is hard for us to listen, though, because we have so much to say. But we need to know what people's understandings and misunderstandings are."

### SELLING THE STORY

This series of meetings, Dean Luberg said, will help in university policymaking by learning the needs of the community. It will

improve the university's image and base of support by reaching thousands of tax-paying opinion-makers.

Dean Luberg noted that plans include TV documentaries on the university's effect on the state's economy.

Part of this drive, of course, is a response to legislative cuts and threats of cuts in educational budgets.

Because of this "backlash," Wisconsin and other universities are looking to their alumni for more than money these days. For instance, Chancellor Young said that while alumni contributions are important "I think of alumni support in terms of their political help" in supporting aid to educational, opposing repressive laws and "in encouraging their youngsters and others to come to school here."

### THE VISITORS

To make sure that alumni are getting the full picture, universities are plunking for alumni publications and campus speakers for local alumni clubs as well as increased alumni involvement in university policymaking roles.

Another example of Wisconsin's attempts to improve communications between its university population and the outside world is an attempt to revitalize its 12-member Board of Visitors.

An appointed group of citizens from all walks of life, the visitors are free to inspect whatever areas of university life they choose.

Noting that they aren't in the public eye like administrators and do not have to make final decisions like the Board of Regents, Dean Luberg said the visitors "are a good listening group . . . they get people to talk freely."

Discussions with the general public and discussions with students and faculty make them an invaluable communications link, he added.

### EXAMINING ISSUES

It is in the area of on-campus issues, however, that the university's long-range efforts are most visible.

These include grading procedures, courses, admissions policies, class size and required courses, student governance, housing conditions and dormitory rules.

On every campus, there are a proliferation of committees examining these issues.

Some schools are creating new structures, like university-wide senates or forums for public discussions, or ombudsmen to handle complaints and cut red tape. Others are revitalizing old structures.

Campus unrest, therefore, seems to have speeded up the self-examination.

The number of issues raised, the number of people involved and the necessity for endless judgments indicates the complexity of the task. But this host of rational activity is the university's long-range hope, requiring time, patience and open-mindedness.

"The tone of this was captured by one administrator who noted: 'I never make up my mind permanently.'"

### PART XVII—NOTRE DAME PROFESSOR IS NOT VERY SYMPATHETIC TO STUDENT PROTESTERS

(By Ronald J. Maselka)

SOUTH BEND, IND., October 29.—"I don't think you want to talk with me," Prof. Bernard Norling said. "I'm not very sympathetic to them."

The topic of discussion was the student protest movement and Dr. Norling, assistant chairman of the History Department at Notre Dame, has some very definite opinions.

A burly man, with glasses and a crew cut, Dr. Norling is a serious man. If you gave him a label, you'd have to say he is a conservative.

Bemoaning the "sudden rise of high principles" in the student protest to the Vietnam war, he said many of them are like the draft dodgers of the past, "just louder."



## MAP SHOWS RED

"Student politicians should be in the library studying," he said. Some of them are intelligent, sensible fellows . . . But you have three or four blue sky types who want to have a say whenever a wastebasket is moved around here."

A large map on the wall of his office showed red-colored Communist nations and he added:

"The world went through this in the 1930s, with the defeatists, pacifists, isolationists, mainly on the political left . . ."

"Now those students whose sentiments are genuine are going to have to grow up and realize the world is an imperfect place. There are a lot of real frauds and phonies among them."

## BEING LED BY NOSE

Stressing that "I can't prove this of course," he added: "A lot are being led by the nose by Communist propaganda . . . in the '30s, there were a lot of people who lent their names to all sorts of causes that seemed liberal and humanitarian but discovered 10 to 15 years later they were being led around."

One thing he finds particularly disturbing about the student protests against national policy, he said, is "they have no historical perspective at all . . . You get the impression the world was created 10 years ago and that there were no counterparts for today's problems in any society in any other time . . ."

"A lot of them are foolish idealists, who expect wonders to happen because of their activities and their emotionalism."

## ACADEMIC REFORM NEEDED

As to faculty members who participate in student protests, Prof. Norling shrugged: "The faculty responsibility is greater. They should have more sense."

While he disagrees with student activism on off-campus politics and on-campus campaigns for more student rights, Prof. Norling agrees with student concerns about academic reform.

"Many things are badly awry at universities," he said, specifically noting student attraction to schools with big name professors only "to find them on sabbatical in Afghanistan or somewhere."

But complains about Vietnam, racism or Dow Chemical he added, are things "the university has nothing to do with."

## DEATH OF EDUCATION

Prof. Norling also deplors the trend for universities to perform social service functions.

"That should be left to someone else," he said. "It distracts people's minds and energies from their real business—teaching and research . . . and getting the university into politics is absolutely wrong."

Pointing to the politicization of universities in Latin America and the Middle East, he added: "You see how close that came to the death of education."

Admitting he is prejudiced—as a history teacher—he grimaced: "People learn so little from history."

Pointing to the fall of the Roman Empire, he recalled that "morality declined, there were huge worthless mobs in the cities supported by the government . . . almost every Roman citizen refused to serve in the military . . . the literature was sterile, imitative."

## LEARN AND LEAVE

Emphasizing that "this doesn't mean we're destined to follow in Rome's footsteps," he added: "Some of the problems and some of the attitudes are somehow similar."

Prof. Norling attributes the growth of campus unrest "a good deal to the faculty and administrations being spineless . . . this thing that everyone must be consulted."

Acknowledging that "students are profoundly dissatisfied and should be to some extent," he said: "But they don't realize how

difficult it is to change something that is complex."

Noting that students "don't have the experience" to play a major role in running the school, he said: "They should learn as much as they can and leave."

## PART XVII—FATHER HESBURGH'S NOTRE DAME LETTER: THE ULTIMATUM THAT NEVER WAS TESTED

(By Ronald J. Maselka)

SOUTH BEND, IND., October 30.—Eight months ago, the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, issued what popularly has become known as his "15-minute ultimatum letter."

That letter to faculty and students warned that any group that "substitutes force for rational persuasion, be it violent or non-violent, will be given 15 minutes of meditation to cease and desist."

If they refused to obey, they would be asked for their identity cards. Those who produced them would be suspended. Those who refused or were unable to produce the cards would "be charged with trespassing and disturbing the peace on private property and treated accordingly by the law."

Eight months later, the ultimatum has not yet been tested.

## LOOKING FOR PROBLEMS

The immediate reaction is that it must have worked. But one administrator acknowledged that "we don't know if it was a deterrent" because it wasn't issued to counter some pending or expected protest.

It was written, however, after two incidents at Notre Dame, one involving CIA and Dow recruiters, one involving a pornography conference. Undoubtedly, it was partly aimed at preventing the spread of disruption.

But some student leaders said they didn't feel intimidated by the letter or that it acted as any deterrent.

"We never had that much trouble here anyway and there was nothing to test it on immediately," one student explained.

Trying to determine why it hasn't been tested requires taking into account factors like the uniqueness of Notre Dame, the uniqueness of Father Hesburgh and what else was said in that letter to indicate the administration was balancing firmness with flexibility.

## IN THE BEGINNING

It begins with Father Hesburgh, who has been university president for more than 17 years. He is almost an institution within an institution.

As one student noted: "The faculty here really looks up to him."

Busy with the business, fundraising image-projecting tasks of a modern university president, Father Hesburgh tries to make himself available to students. Many of those student visits come in the wee hours of the morning.

"That's the way it really is," Philip Facenda, special assistant to the president, said. "They know he's here because they can see his light burning."

Another element, Mr. Facenda explained, is "that we are constantly trying to come up with new ways to improve communication."

There's a recognition, he said, that "kids today are three to five years ahead of students of earlier decades . . . Students are more sophisticated at 18 than we were at 21, for example, in terms of the knowledge they have about what's going on in the world."

## HARNESSING ENERGIES

"They are becoming aware of some things while they still can do something about it . . . When we thought of it, we were already saddled with other problems, like three kids and a mortgage."

## POLITICS FOR ALL

It is statistically sound to say that all of them are not happy about the student pro-

test movement. Beyond that, the divisions of opinion are legion.

Some opposition comes from a feeling of self-preservation and individual rights, like the rights to research, scholarship and private files. Some is the natural suspicion of the professor who worked himself up from high school teaching posts and fears a lack of university continuity because of the transient nature of students.

Some of it stems from student turmoil conflicting with a faculty member's vision of the university. As one said: "The trouble with all this is that it makes politicians of everybody. You can't get your work done."

But while students have been alleging faculty aloofness, inaccessibility, over-indulgence in research and reputation building, the faculty has been sharing student concerns about large classes and course loads.

## THE TEACHERS' SIDE

This budgetary problem is out of the hands of the faculty, Associate Sociology Prof. Henry Finney of the University of Wisconsin explained. "But the small classes are a very important factor. You learn better when you have a feeling of closeness and contact with somebody you respect."

Noting that the faculty also has gripes about pay, promotion procedures, inadequate office space and secretarial help, one professor discussing campus turmoil said: "There is some satisfaction in sitting back and seeing the administration taking its licks."

Faculty too are caught up in the impersonalization of the university. As one Harvard committee reported: "The quadrupling of the tenured faculty since the turn of the century has necessarily reduced the frequency and intimacy of contacts among faculty members."

This growth, the demand for and shortage of professors, along with budgetary restrictions have forced many universities to rely on graduate students as teaching assistants and instructors.

## A CLOSER LOOK

The latter is a group with one foot in the student camp, one in the faculty camp. This raises a whole set of separate concerns and problems.

Closer in age to the undergraduates, many graduate students have been found to be sympathetic to student demands.

There are also instances of older faculty members joining in protests, and reports of helping student activists with grades, adding fuel to charges that the faculty has helped the rebellion.

This has caused faculties to re-examine disciplinary procedures of their own members.

Defending faculty activists, Dr. Andrew N. Meyers, president of the faculty senate at Fordham University, said: "They are passionately interested and concerned, with a real conviction they are doing something right."

This returns to the original notion that because of their role and proximity to students, the faculty has a prime role in helping the university over these days of turmoil.

## SETTING AN EXAMPLE

But each teacher must interpret his role for himself: How much of himself he will give to his students.

Some like Dr. Houck consider themselves "an honest broker" between the students and the administration.

"This takes a lot of time," he explained. "You can really burn yourself out."

For Genetics Prof. W. H. Stone of the University of Wisconsin, it is also setting an example.

Noting that this falls between joining students entirely and running for the bayonets, he said: "Older people, those in their 40s and particularly the professor, can do an

awful lot by being a model, by showing strength and conviction, trust and understanding."

For Phil R. McKenna, a senior from Chicago who is president of Notre Dame's student body, the important thing in faculty and administrators is "the way they think and behave about students."

And Guy DeSapio, editor of the school newspaper, *The Observer*, said he was impressed his first day in class this semester when his professor stressed that "this class is going to be run democratically."

"They really bent over backwards to say 'What do you feel about this course, where do you think we are going, any ideas on where we should be going?'"

It really is the little things that mean a lot.

#### PART XIX—COLLEGE PROTESTERS' NEXT TARGET: CURRICULUM SHIFT, BETTER TEACHING

(By Ronald J. Maselka)

SOUTH BEND, IND., October 31.—The faculty is going to feel the crunch of campus unrest more in the future as students focus on academic reform.

That opinion doesn't come from students. It comes from faculty members. It's based on the fact that teaching is the fundamental part of university life.

While students already are raising questions about the relevance of courses and the quality of teaching, their energies have been directed mainly at off-campus issues like the Vietnam war and the draft and at extra-curricular campus issues like student governance and rights.

For some faculty members, it seems only a matter of time before students focus their energies full-time on the nitty-gritty of academic life, on questions like curriculum course evaluation, degree requirements, grading.

This is faculty territory.

#### SNIPING AT MR. CHIPS

Campus turmoil has brought a revitalization of the faculty's role in the university. The whole trend toward democratization has brought faculty members more participation in administrative affairs, including questions of university government and wide policy-making. Faculty pronouncements—individually and as groups—are also becoming more noticeable on off-campus issues like the war and the draft.

Thus, faculty members cannot ignore the student sniping at their academic houses, departmental power structures over items ranging from hiring to tenure and curriculum.

Dean William B. Lawless of the Notre Dame Law School, however, sees a greater need for faculty democratization. "There is a need for deans to listen to their faculties and shape their policies with the faculty, to replace the arbitrary basis where the dean sets policy alone," he said.

The quality of the teaching and the relevance of the curriculum are the two areas where some faculty members see the future confrontations, some coming in debates between younger and older faculty generally, some in direct student-faculty contact.

#### THE DEGREE FACTORIES

This expectation of turmoil indicates that the faculty acknowledges there is room for academic improvement. The question is what to improve and how fast.

For Dr. John Houck, professor of business management at Notre Dame, concerned that universities are becoming factories, the key question is can "we do this more humanely."

Noting that even the need for the halcyon right of tenure is being debated in faculty councils, he said: "But our teaching is too much giving conclusions and not showing the difficulty in reaching those conclusions . . . We have to show that our com-

petence is not in the conclusions reached but in the search."

He said faculty should serve as models "in the strength of our lives, in our reasons for being teachers . . . we should be saying to them to 'be like me, not for any answers I have but for the way I live.' We don't tell them enough of the complexities of problems, which tends to lead them to believe in easy answers."

#### WHAT OF POOR TEACHING?

A similar view was voiced by Dr. John Portz, head of the University of Maryland's honors program at College Park, who said: "The faculty should do more teaching and learning about teaching."

Dr. William E. Sedlacek, assistant director of Maryland's counseling center, agreed. Noting that when a student fails it is attributed to things like "incapable" or "lack of motivation," he added:

"Nowhere does it say 'poor teaching,' which is certainly a large variable . . . I see the next wave of student protest directed at the academics. I think the faculties at most universities have not looked into their house at all."

#### PART XX—COLLEGES UP IN ARMS—OVER ROTC

(By Ronald Maselka)

ITHACA.—Any controversial issue presents two extreme alternatives: For or Against.

In between, however, is an encircling range of opinion.

Campus issues are no different.

As one Cornell University administrative aide explained: "The university is complex by its very nature. You have a fantastic variety of opinion on campus. It's the same variety you'd get in a national opinion survey but it's all jammed into the campus."

A basic issue raises a series of related historical, moral, legal, financial or practical questions.

The Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) program illustrates this complexity.

#### ROTC IS COMMON TARGET

ROTC has been a common target of protest at universities experiencing campus unrest. Just like the intensity of the unrest varies, so does the intensity of the ROTC issue. While Columbia University has acted to phase out its ROTC program, for example, Fordham University's students are having a referendum on it.

The attacks range from efforts to drop ROTC entirely to those to strip it of academic credit and make it an extra-curricular activity. At some schools, the effort is directed only at making ROTC voluntary instead of mandatory.

A voluntary program at Cornell, Army, Air Force and Navy ROTC is a highly visible issue this year. Some 400 students are enrolled in ROTC out of a total male enrollment of about 7000.

Cornell's ROTC problem is complicated by its uniqueness as a privately endowed, Ivy League institution that is simultaneously a state-federal supported land-grant university.

#### REGARDING CHANGES AT CORNELL

In a report recommending some changes in ROTC at Cornell, a University Faculty Committee noted: "Military training is stipulated in the charter as one of the obligations of Cornell as a land-grant university. Although the federal land-grant act is not specific as to how this obligation is to be met, the ROTC program is the currently accepted mechanism at land-grant universities in every state."

The financial question arises here because Cornell receives millions of dollars in federal-state-county money annually because of this land-grant status.

Cornell's charter uses almost the exact language as the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862—

providing income from the sale of public lands to the states for use for higher education—that its leading object should be "to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, including military tactics."

#### FUNDS JEOPARDIZED?

Debated is the question whether the money Cornell receives as a land-grant institution might be jeopardized if it dropped ROTC and what was selected to fulfill the military tactics requirement was found unsatisfactory.

The ROTC issue at Cornell is further complicated by this land-grant status because it resulted in its operating four divisions—agriculture, home economics, veterinary science and industrial and labor relations—in partnership with New York State. It also has a series of privately endowed colleges.

"There's a certain schizophrenia on campus as between the statutory and endowed colleges," explained Dean of Faculty Robert D. Miller. "The statutory colleges tend to be far more concerned about the original provisions that established the university, with its idea for training in the professions, as opposed to the college of arts and sciences, for example, which tends to concentrate on a liberal arts education."

#### SAME PROBLEMS AS OTHERS

While Cornell's land-grant situation compounds its ROTC problem, it also shares the diverse opinions on ROTC evident elsewhere at private universities.

In more than 50 years as a campus institution, ROTC has often been attacked for academic reasons. But the current attacks are augmented, because "ROTC is the most immediate symbol of the Vietnam war on campus." And this ties indirectly to the draft.

But the trend toward anti-militarism is not the only factor in the assault.

The range starts with the pro and con, as Barton Reppert, managing editor of *The Cornell Daily Sun*, explained: "There are all kinds of levels of concern about ROTC, ranging from the left demanding removal of anyone wearing a uniform from the campus to the far right who are very defensive about even the slightest infringement on ROTC."

#### QUESTION OF RIGHTS

Then there's the question of rights. "I don't feel it should be eliminated," said Peter A. Sepe, a freshman from Poughkeepsie. "ROTC has as much right to be here as anyone else."

The question of individual finances was cited by Better Mills, a junior from Washington, D.C., who said: "It should stay but be changed because many people think it would be unfair to those who depend on ROTC scholarships."

And Roger Kallina, a senior from Houston, Tex., added: "Anyone who wants to take it should have right to take it."

But Mark Goldman, a junior from Far Rockaway, who supports an SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) demand that ROTC be removed from Cornell by Nov. 13 because it keeps the pressure on the issue, said he doesn't think ROTC belongs at a university.

#### ALTERNATE TO DRAFT

Explaining his participation as an Army ROTC cadet for purely practical reasons, Peter Hopkins, a business school graduate student from Springfield, Mass., said: "It provides me with a viable alternative to the draft."

But other questions are raised like: Does military training on campus violate the university's neutrality? Is academic freedom violated by courses taught by military men? And one of the major arguments for retaining ROTC is to have a liberalizing effect on the military and prevent a military caste.

Much controversy stems from academic challenges coming from the faculty.



Some of this, Dean Miller explains, can be linked to the faculty's experience with ROTC. "They know that the intellectual content of many of these courses was non-existent," he said.

#### ROTC HAS IMPROVED

The intellectual content has improved in recent years, partly because some ROTC course requirements, like military history, have been substituted by related ones taught by civilian faculty in normal academic departments.

Among proposals being considered by the Cornell faculty are further changes to switch instruction in ROTC required courses with political content to civilian departments, and leave purely military subjects like map-reading and drill to summer camp or put on an extra-curricular, non-credit basis.

There is also some concern about the status of the military faculty, selected by the Department of Defense, who receive professorial status and full votes at faculty meetings.

But the debate goes on in committees, in student newspapers, in private discussions.

And that's only one campus issue. Multiply these complexities and it does not require a searching analysis to determine there are no simple solutions to campus unrest.

#### PART XXI—PROTEST BRINGS SCRUTINY OF ROLE OF TRUSTEES IN RUNNING COLLEGES

(By Ronald Maselka)

Ithaca, November 3.—Who runs the university? Who's in charge?

In the legal sense of ultimate responsibility, it's a university's governing board—whether it's called the regents, trustees or overseers—that has the final say.

But the trustees' power is not the power of a dictator. The trustees do not operate in a vacuum. They must be sensitive to the wishes and needs of the administrators, faculty and students. And at many state institutions, they are also directly subject to State Legislatures.

Since a university is not a dictatorship, it is this sense of community that really provides its powerful direction.

#### CITES ISSUE ON BOOKSTORE

"The institution very much runs itself," said Steven Muller, Cornell's vice president for public affairs, explaining that trustees over the years have delegated day-to-day operating powers to administrators and faculty.

Noting that membership on the Board of Trustees is "very much a part-time job," Mr. Muller said that trustees are heavily reliant on the administration for advice and information.

"Most of the things presented for final trustee action don't originate with the trustees, but with the administration," he said.

As an example, Mr. Muller cited a recent campus controversy over the location of a new bookstore.

#### TRUSTEES FINALLY APPROVED

"The campus couldn't agree where to put the bookstore," he recalled. "Then someone came up with the suggestion that it should be built underground. There was no strong minority opposed to that idea . . .

"The trustees finally approved the decision, but I don't recall it was ever debated at a board meeting."

Many policy and priority recommendations are made at below-trustee levels of the university and submitted to them for approval.

Explaining the university power structure, Mr. Muller said: "While Cornell is not the largest university in the nation, it is one of the most complex. The levers of power are so many and so varied, no one can tell you, no matter how much he knows, that the power of Cornell lies here."

#### DISPROPORTIONATE POWER

The extent of trustee involvement and expression of power varies from place to place. As Mr. Muller noted: "Trustees at smaller colleges, where levers of authority are small in number and easily recognizable, have a disproportionate share of power."

Many administrators, while recognizing their responsibility and accountability to the trustees, probably would prefer a minimum of trustee intervention.

As one administrator noted: "If you have a working administration doing its job, the last thing you want is a bunch of trustees running around gumming up the works."

#### RE-STUDY THEIR ROLE

Generally, however, as the university's legal guardian, trustees function as auditors insuring that it is keeping to its goals. Since they are entrusted with the good name and fiscal integrity of the institution, trustees must take a close hard look when administrators recommend certain priorities or policy decisions.

Campus disruptions, however, have prompted many governing boards to take a hard look at their role and at the aims of higher education.

Harvard's Board of Overseers, for example, recommended a faculty-student committee be formed to examine the whole question of university governance.

#### BASED ON MEAGER DATA

There are also indications that trustees are examining how well they have done their job.

As a report of the special trustee committee on campus unrest at Cornell last spring reported: "Members of the board are not without responsibility for recent campus problems. In retrospect, the evaluations made, in some instances, were based on too meager information or faulty judgments. Decisions or lack of them in these matters undoubtedly contributed to the campus unrest."

Before reaching decisions in the future, governing boards will probably tend toward greater discussion and questioning.

#### MUST MAKE POLICY DECISIONS

Campus unrest also seems to have had an impact on the relationship between the administrators and governing board (regents) at the University of Wisconsin, a state school.

"Legislators on both sides of the aisle tell me its our responsibility to make policy decisions," one regent said. "I think there has been a major change in that direction."

Members of governing boards at state schools generally are appointed by the state governor. Cornell's trustees are elected either by the board itself or by alumni and faculty, with some appointed by the governor.

#### TO VISIT CAMPUS MORE

It is impossible to make a general statement on how much public reaction and political backlash will force trustees into a more direct, active role in governing the universities.

One thing that has happened at Cornell and elsewhere, Mr. Muller noted, is that "trustees feel they have to know better what is going on here. There is also a move on for trustees to spend more time individually and collectively on campus speaking to people, finding out what people are saying, what's bugging them."

This desire for first-hand information is shared by Charles E. Treman Jr., an Ithaca banker who is a Cornell trustee.

#### TRUSTEE CALLED REMOTE

"I think the trustees feel the need, and are urged to come to Ithaca when they can, to talk with administrators, faculty and students to insure there is a maximum of communication," Mr. Treman said. "I think every effort is being made, not just as a result of last spring but as the university

has grown in complexity, that trustees realize that they have to spend more time here."

One common student criticism is that trustees are remote from the problems of their university. Most trustees are businessmen or prominent citizens and community leaders who live away from the university.

#### MEETS 4 TIMES ANNUALLY

While trustees don't wear identifying badges when they are on campus, one trustee explained, "they are on campus a lot. Students just don't know that."

For instance, the full Cornell board generally meets four times annually, a day and a half each session. Its standing committees, like one on investments and its executive committee, generally meet monthly. But university trustees are also members of various administrative councils and advisory boards within the university system.

Another trend developing in the wake of campus unrest, however, is to make trustees more visible on campus.

#### SEEK WORD ON BOARD

Mr. Treman and Assemblywoman Constance E. Cook (R., Ithaca) are two trustee representatives at the Cornell Constituent Assembly, nearly 400 delegates from all sections of the university attempting to devise a new governance system.

Trustees elsewhere, like at the University of Notre Dame, are participating with students, faculty and alumni in forums to discuss campus issues.

Attacking the age of the trustees, students are also seeking representation on the university's governing board.

Students argue that if the university is a real community, they should have a voice in every aspect of it. Opposition to student seats on governing boards notes that the inexperienced student voice could play no role in complex budgetary and investment questions.

Some schools are meeting this demand by going half-way and adding recent graduates or relatively young alumni to the governing boards.

The big question facing governing boards at many universities is how much they will heed this student voice.

The point they have to get across to students, however, is that they are listening.

#### PART XXII—STUDENTS HAVE GOOD QUESTIONS, FEW ANSWERS

(By Ronald Maselka)

WASHINGTON.—"Friends, Romans and countrymen, lend me your ears."

That Shakespearean line is timeless, yet particularly timely today. For answers to the tangle of academic-political issues underlying campus unrest lie along a rational road paved with listening.

It's listening with open eyes, open minds and open hearts, regardless of what lane you are in.

Impatience, intolerance, prejudged shouting are roadblocks. Stereotypes—like people over 30 are apathetic, selfish and materialistic, younger ones are disheveled, sex-crazy, smart alecks—merely clog the vision.

If there is one clear message after a tour of 10 campuses, it's that generalizations are misleading. There are no simple answers and very few simple questions.

#### NO ONE FULLY RIGHT OR WRONG

There is a need for the basic awareness that nobody is completely right or wrong, that confusion, idealism or wisdom are not the sole property of any age group.

Historians will decide if this is a misguided conspiracy, a passing phase or a revitalizing point.

Beyond judging whether students are right or wrong, whether their questions are valid or invalid, lies the clear fact that many are

troubled. They are troubled by a variety of things for a variety of reasons.

Can you r.inimize this student questioning because it is the product of only a vocal minority? Change is always fostered by a minority and many of these questioners are the brightest students from the elite schools. At least, the questioning cannot be ignored.

#### SOCIETY IS GIANT PUZZLE

But to ask what is wrong with the universities is only part of the question, since society is a giant puzzle. The universities are separate but connected pieces and students are not in isolation booths.

Problems abound. The Vietnam War, the growth of the military giant, inflation, civil rights, crime, urban ills, poverty, welfare, pollution, changing morality, changing churches.

Things are changing and we all hope they change for the best.

Students do too. They see these problems, however, against a background of national ideals of democracy. Soaring ideals of equality and brotherhood clash with the reality of racial inequity and violence, public and private dishonesty.

#### TWO SIDES TO COIN

Man can step on the moon but can't swim in some of earth's lakes. Elsewhere money is wasted while worthy uses go begging.

Hypocrisy, students say. It's an imperfect world, their elders respond.

Are students being to impatient, too impractical? Has the older generation been too tolerant, too practical?

Give a qualified yes to those questions and today's student questioning can be viewed as a prod to improve things, to live up to stated ideals, to work harder at solving problems.

The solutions, of course, are imbedded in a web of economics, moralities, politics and ideology. Idealism doesn't solve problems.

Time will tell how much they can or will contribute.

Campus idealism has been muddled by violence. While concrete steps have been taken by universities to set limits on dissent and provide swift discipline, the students bear the prime responsibility. Tiny groups of violent-prone anarchists cannot be successful without wider student support.

#### VENTILATION HELPS

One particularly hopeful thing is that perhaps the combination of ventilating problems through debate, the awareness that trouble can happen at any time and the hope that change can come without trouble will provide the formula for that ounce of prevention.

National solutions like ending the war, draft reform and a lower voting age certainly would help.

There are disturbing sources of tensions that especially could be the seeds for future trouble. One is the easily misunderstood trend toward black separatism. Another is how the financial plight of the universities clashes with student demands for new programs that cost money.

#### THE QUESTIONS REMAIN

Do students need to request more, demand less? Do they need to realize that efforts to democratize the university are more than a token effort?

Would it help for adults to visit a campus and talk to students? Or to keep in mind that when 10 students threw paint in a classroom 500 were in the library?

The answer to all those questions? There is no big answer, just a lot of little ones. There's a need for all the virtues, like trust and understanding. There does seem to be a positive voice in all this, however, saying: "Friends, Americans and countrymen, lend me your ears."

No one can tell you how to listen. A lot depends on what you want to hear.

C. B. DEANE

### HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 4, 1969

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, a quiet, unassuming citizen of North Carolina died a little over a week ago. He was in a real sense a hero of a sometimes tragic, often confusing period in the history of our Nation. There are those who will see in the passing of C. B. Deane, who for 10 years served as a Member of this body, the pathos of a politician who lost because he would not pay the price of conscience ignored. They will miss the special message of his life. It is doubtful if he ever thought of himself as a hero; it is certain he never thought himself pathetic. He simply came to a moment in his career when he was convinced that to take the easy way would be to deny truth, to subvert honor, and to betray the trust of the people who had elected him. To understand that is not to forget that other honorable men disagreed and took another path.

His courage and his faith give him a clearer vision than some and they are the qualities that make him an inspiration to all who knew him and who know of his dedication to the service of his God, his fellowman, and his country. In a time when we have too few heroes, I salute the heroic memory he leaves behind. It will be good for us to remember that in critical times the ability to meet difficult questions of national policy with the simple weapons of a decent man is the first requirement of greatness.

The following is the tribute to Congressman Deane of a distinguished young writer with the Greensboro Daily News, Mr. Ed Yoder:

REPRESENTATIVE C. B. DEANE AND THE NEXT GENERATION

When former Rep. C. B. Deane died last week, those who remembered Tar Heel politics in the mid-1950s recalled his refusal to sign the so-called "Southern Manifesto" of March, 1956—an act of conscience that cost him his seat in Congress.

"He was a man," said his daughter, "more interested in the next generation than in the next election."

It is an interesting distinction at this time, when most politicians strike the young as dedicated to political survival at all costs. They have become, in fact, remarkably cynical. There is in that "next generation" a certain cool heartlessness about acts of conscience once meaningful that remain so no longer. Certainly the controversy over the Southern Manifesto, with the dust of 14 years upon it, signifies little. Many of that "next generation" would say, presumably, that the architects of the Manifesto were so dead wrong, and the few dissenters so dead right, that refusing to sign it was the least a moral man could do. And so what—so what in A.D. 1969?

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

Perhaps they are right. Nothing is deader than a controversy that time has resolved. But if the Southern Manifesto fight is ancient history, it is instructive all the same.

It was hatched, this dignified document against the U.S. Supreme Court, in the spring of 1956 by some 20 Southern senators who believed then that if the South presented a solid front against the Court its decrees end-

ing racial segregation in the schools might be stayed. The air was thick with bogus constitutional theory out of the 1830s, 40s and 50s.

According to one historian of the episode, the late Sen. Harry Flood Byrd, a leading draftsman of the manifesto, believed that solid resistance, were it lawful, would save segregated schools. He also felt Virginia should lead the way, for "if Virginia surrenders the rest of the South will go down."

In the background were other, less quixotic thoughts. More than one of the 20 senators knew that school segregation involved issues of justice that lofty rhetoric about "constitutional principles" could not hide. They condemned the Supreme Court decrees as "a clear abuse of judicial power . . . encroaching upon the reserved rights of the states and the people"; but in the back of their minds they suspected—a fear that was political, but not dishonorably so—that the furies loosed in the South might dislodge the best of their number.

It might, for instance, dislodge senators like the late Walter George of Georgia, who had come to the Senate with Klan backing in 1922 but had lived down that taint in the nation's service. Senator George was up for re-election; Herman Talmadge (the unreconstructed "Human" of that day) wanted in the wings.

#### SCRAPS FOR THE YAHOO

So the Manifesto was, in the main, another of those endless acts of Southern realpolitik instigated by moderates who convinced themselves that they must periodically toss a few scraps to the yahoos, lest the yahoos overturn them.

When the Manifesto came to the House, 24 southerners refused to sign. Three North Carolinians—Deane himself, Thurmond Chatham and Harold D. Cooley—stood among them. Deane and Chatham fell in the 1956 election, Deane almost certainly because he had not supported the Manifesto, Chatham perhaps for other reasons. (His challenger, Ralph Scott of Danbury, did not use the Manifesto issue.) Cooley survived, to be conquered finally by Jim Gardner 10 years later.

Never, so far as I know, did Mr. Deane ever think of himself as a hero. His austere code of personal conduct—he was for years a Baptist lay-leader and was also deeply caught up in the worldwide Moral Rearmament movement—did not permit such posturings.

#### EXAMPLES OF BEHAVIOR

But the poignant tribute of his daughter suggests that his act was not without significance to him. Perhaps he believed, a bit crazily perhaps, that one generation is generally an improvement on the last, and that the "next generation" cannot thrive on admonition alone but needs examples of behavior that cost something to the giver.

The question is whether the best of that next generation, in their capacity for moral certainty and their abrupt judgment of a past they often do not trouble themselves to understand, will make a small effort to understand a man like C. B. Deane. It seems a modest favor, since he evidently had them much in mind at a crucial point in his life.

REPRESENTATIVE TAFT PRAISES OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY SCIENTISTS—NOTES TREMENDOUS ACHIEVEMENTS OF ANTARCTIC STUDY

### HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, as most of my colleagues are aware, Ohio State Uni-



versity's Antarctic expedition, under the direction of an outstanding team of Ohio State scientists has made some truly remarkable discoveries of fossil beds.

The following news release from the National Science Foundation describes, in some detail, the accomplishments of the Ohio State University team. As an Ohioan, I am extremely proud of their accomplishments.

The National Science Foundation news release follows:

**ANTARCTIC SCIENCE TEAM REPORTS MAJOR FIND OF FOSSIL REPTILES, AMPHIBIANS**

Discovery of a bed of fossil bones, possibly one of the most important fossil finds in recent history, has been reported to the National Science Foundation by a team of scientists in Antarctica.

The initial report from the group indicates that they have found fossil bones of several types of vertebrates, including amphibians and reptiles. All appear to be remnants of now-extinct creatures that lived during the Triassic period, more than 200 million years ago.

Comparison of these fossil remains with those found in other parts of the world will provide further evidence about theories that Antarctica was once joined to other continents.

"This promises to be a most significant finding," said Dr. William D. McElroy, Director of NSF, in commenting on the discovery. "It shows once again the importance of good science everywhere in the world. Work such as this contributes greatly to our better understanding of the earth that we inhabit."

Among the fossils discovered were bones of an extinct reptile, the thecodont. Thecodonts were ancestors of the dinosaurs, and fossil remains have been found in North America and Europe. The only evolutionary descendants of these creatures living on earth today are crocodiles and alligators and, through a more complex evolution, birds.

Another fossil remnant found by the Antarctic team was of an extinct amphibian called labyrinthodont. The only previous find of fossil vertebrate remains in Antarctica was of a labyrinthodont jaw bone, a discovery made two years ago.

**TEXT OF MESSAGE**

Following is the text of the report sent by the scientists in Antarctica to the National Science Foundation:

"On November 23rd, 1969, the first day of work in the field, Dr. David H. Elliot of the Institute of Polar Studies and Department of Geology, Ohio State University, discovered fossil bones in a sandstone bed at Coalsack Bluff, Central Transantarctic Mountains, about 400 miles from the South Pole. Since the initial discovery by Dr. Elliot, the exposure has been systematically explored by a group of vertebrate paleontologists, including Dr. Edwin H. Colbert of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, Arizona; Mr. James Jensen of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Mr. William J. Breed of the Museum of Northern Arizona; and Mr. Jon S. Powell of the University of Arizona, Tucson.

"As a result of this work, now in the initial stages of an intensive collecting program, various types of vertebrate fossils have been discovered. Included among them are the fossil bones of labyrinthodont amphibians; and various reptiles, among which the remains of thecodonts, characteristic of the Triassic period of earth history, would seem to be present.

"The current geological investigations in the Central Transantarctic Mountains by the Institute of Polar Studies and the vertebrate paleontologists are an outgrowth of continuing geological study by the Institute of Polar Studies and, in particular, of the dis-

covery by Dr. Peter J. Barrett in December 1967 of the first fossil bone of a land-living vertebrate in the Transantarctic Mountains, which was subsequently identified by Dr. Colbert as a labyrinthodont amphibian.

"This discovery is of great significance to students of earth history. During recent years the so-called theory of continental drift has received increasingly favorable attention from geologists and other students of the history of the earth. This theory, developed in detail more than fifty years ago, supposes that the present continents are remnants of a once supercontinent, or perhaps two such continents, that fragmented, the separate pieces then slowly drifting across the face of the globe to their present positions. If this theory is valid, Antarctica was once part of a great southern land mass known as Gondwanaland.

"The presence of fresh-water amphibians and land-living reptiles in Antarctica, some 200 million years ago, is very strong evidence of the probability of continental drift because these amphibians and reptiles, closely related to back-boned animals of the same age on other continents, could not have migrated between continental areas across oceanic barriers."

**OTHER ANTARCTIC FOSSILS**

It has for many years been known that Antarctica once had a temperate climate. Fossil ferns and other plants were found as early as 1911, during Captain Robert Falcon Scott's expedition to the South Pole. The British leader and his party perished on the return trip, but specimens were found with their bodies, by a search party in 1912. Scott's party had discovered beds of coal, containing fossil leaves, in the mountain wall bordering the Beardmore Glacier not far from the site of the present scientific camp at Coalsack Bluff.

Coalsack Bluff, named by the 1961-62 New Zealand Geological and Survey Antarctic Expedition, takes its name from the coal seams in the bluff.

The labyrinthodont fossil discovery two years ago lay in an ancient sediment-filled stream bed, among plant fossils. It was also in the general area of the Beardmore Glacier, about 325 miles from the South Pole and within 100 miles of the newly reported find. Until its discovery, there had been no evidence of the existence of a vertebrate animal that lived on land or in fresh water and was common both to Antarctica and to other continents.

Last year, insect fossils were discovered for the first time in Antarctica. This find was made at the Carapace Nunatak, about 100 miles from McMurdo Station and roughly 300 miles from the site of the current paleontology work. Extinct dragonflies were found that appear to have been similar to the insect fossils contained in the Florissant beds near Colorado Springs, Colo.

**COALSACK BLUFF CAMP**

The discoveries and collections just reported to NSF are being made by members of two cooperating scientific groups supported by the Foundation through the U.S. Antarctic Research Program. Dr. Elliot is principal investigator of a nine-man geological field party that is mapping the geology of the area, measuring rock strata, and collecting rock and fossil samples for later laboratory analysis. Dr. Colbert is leading a four-man scientific team seeking land vertebrate fossils.

Coalsack Bluff Camp was established by a Navy construction crew, part of the Naval Support Force that provides logistics support for the scientific activities in Antarctica. Navy C-130 aircraft, equipped with skis, flew in supplies and equipment during the month of November, following a reconnaissance mission during which the scientists selected the site of their camp.

Finally, all the scientists were flown to

the camp on November 22, and they began their field investigations the next day. It was then that the first fossil discoveries were made.

The Coalsack Bluff camp consists of Jamesway huts, which have prefabricated wooden floors and frames covered with insulated canvas. From the base camp the scientists shuttle to field work areas by Navy turbine helicopters.

The camp is in a mountainous, heavily glaciated area about midway between McMurdo Station and the South Pole, in the area of the Queen Alexandra Range. The scientists plan to work in various areas within about 100 miles of the Coalsack Bluff camp.

Following the initial discovery on November 23, word was quickly spread to other interested scientists in Antarctica. On November 26 a group of senior scientists visited the site. They included Dr. Lawrence Gould, Professor of Geology at the University of Arizona, who was chief scientist of the 1928 Byrd Antarctic Expedition, and Dr. Grover Murray, President of Texas Technological University, Lubbock, Texas, a member of the National Science Board. Drs. Gould and Murray were in Antarctica to observe and report on the operation of the United States Antarctic Research Program, and to observe the Fortieth Anniversary of the first flight over the South Pole by Richard E. Byrd in 1929.

They were accompanied on their flight by Dr. Alton Wade, Professor of Geology at Texas Tech, who has done research in Antarctica for many years, and Mr. Kendall Moulton, National Science Foundation representative at McMurdo Station.

**SOLDIER SENDS THANKS FOR OHIO STATE FLAG**

**HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON**  
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, last month I received a thank you letter from a soldier from my district who had requested an Ohio State flag for his personal use while serving in Vietnam. Sp4c. George M. Bunner explained that in Vietnam he was working with a mine-sweeping team. Most of the time, he serves as a medic for A Company, 1st Engineer Battalion, 1st Infantry Division. Mr. Bunner went on to explain that his buddies have a great outfit and he was only sorry they never seemed to get credit for the job that they are doing. Most of the columnists seem to be interested in the "glamour units" like the 101st and the 82d Airborne.

Mr. Speaker, after reading this letter from Specialist Bunner, I contacted the Army Headquarters here in Washington. Maj. Gen. William R. Desobry, Director of Operations for the Deputy Chief of Staff, replied to my request for information concerning A Company, 1st Engineer Battalion, 1st Infantry Division. It is with great personal pride that I put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD General Desobry's letter to me and the history he enclosed concerning the great tradition of Company A, 1st Engineer Battalion, 1st Infantry Division—the oldest engineer company in the history of the U.S. Army.

I would like to add my own personal

note of congratulations to the officers and men of A Company, to their battalion commander, and to the commanding officer of the 1st Infantry Division for their outstanding record of performance, both in peace and war. I, personally, served with an infantry division for almost 3 years in the Southwest Pacific during World War II. I hope that this record of their service will be brought to their personal attention and that the men of this company, battalion, and division will know that the Congress of the United States expresses their thanks for their service on behalf of their fellow man.

The items referred to follow:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,  
Washington, D.C., December 3, 1969.

HON. WILLIAM STANTON,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STANTON: Secretary Laird has asked me to reply to your request for a record of A Company, 1st Engineer Battalion, 1st Infantry Division, in order that you might put it into the Congressional Record.

I have inclosed a brief history of the company—the oldest Engineer Company in the history of the United States Army. It provides an interesting synopsis of the unit's long and distinguished service to our country. Specialist Bunner and his Engineer comrades in arms are carrying on that fine Engineer tradition today in Vietnam.

Your interest and initiative in providing recognition to these fine young men is most gratifying. If I can be of further assistance please don't hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM R. DESOBRY,  
Major General, GS,  
Director of Operations.

COMPANY A, 1ST ENGINEER BATTALION, 1ST INFANTRY DIVISION—"123 YEARS OF DISTINGUISHED SERVICE"

Since 1846 members of Company A, 1st Engineer Battalion have served our country in peace and war. This service continues today in the Republic of Vietnam.

Performing nearly every function typical of the combat engineers, Company A is maintaining the distinguished tradition of the "Army's oldest engineer company." The rich tradition of the "1st Engineers" dates back to 1846, when Congress authorized organization of the first company of engineer soldiers. Company A was formed at West Point, New York, and served with distinction during the war with Mexico. Some of the young officers who served with the Company A at that time included Robert E. Lee, P. G. T. Beauregard and George B. McClellan.

In 1861 Company A served with the Army of the Potomac in ten Civil War campaigns. In 1901 Company A participated in the battle of Manila, and throughout the hostilities of the Philippine insurrection, the engineers assisted in repairing roads and constructing ferries, bridges and railroads.

During World War I Company A became part of the 1st Engineer Battalion, assigned to the First Infantry Division. It fought with gallantry and honor in every major engagement in France and was cited three times by the French Government.

During World War II the "First Engineers" earned 10 campaign streamers as it fought through North Africa, Sicily, Normandy, and Germany.

In September 1965 company A, as part of the 1st Engineer Battalion, was alerted for deployment to Vietnam as part of "the big red one"—The first infantry division.

Since its arrival in Vietnam the company has participated in many combat operations, carried out effective civic action programs,

constructed base camps, provided engineer reconnaissance and performed road maintenance. The company has frequently been in the thick of the action while conducting road opening and jungle clearing operations. During its service in Vietnam, Company A, as part of the 1st Engineer Battalion, has been awarded the meritorious unit commendation and the Republic of Vietnam's cross of gallantry.

Today in Vietnam the men of Company A, 1st Engineer Battalion are conscious of their company's rich traditions and distinguished record. They carry on the heritage so nobly and gallantly advanced by former members who served during the first 123 years. Truly this company lives by its motto—"Always First".

## EDUCATORS URGE FULL HEALTH FUNDING

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday I called for immediate reversal of the unwise cuts in Federal support for medical research and education and health services. At the time I warned that the Nation faces a serious health crisis unless we act quickly. The following comments that I have received from distinguished educators in the health professions throughout the Nation indicate the gravity of the situation and the importance of immediate action:

John F. Enders, Ph.D., Chief, Research Division of Infectious Diseases, University Professor, Emeritus, Harvard University, The Children's Hospital Medical Center, Boston, Mass.: "Thank you for sending me an advance copy of the remarks you propose to make on the Floor of the House, December 4, 1969. As one who has long been engaged in medical research, I warmly support your efforts to call to the attention of the Congress the harm that the recent curtailment of Federal support is bringing and, if continued, will bring in increasing measure to the progress of medical research and teaching and so, fundamentally, to the quality of medical care in this country.

"I know from recent experience that certain young men who have spent several arduous years in preparing themselves for careers in medical teaching and investigation are losing heart at the prospect of fewer and fewer positions becoming available to them and many of these men may well enter other areas unless the situation is soon corrected. You will do a great service . . . in clearly pointing out how necessary such people are for the survival of sound medical teaching as well as for future advancement of medical care and how modest, or rather how absurdly low, is the cost of providing the nation with them and their brother practitioners compared with that of many other enterprises supported by government that appear to be less essential for the common welfare . . . Wishing you all success in your attempt to alleviate the present financial crisis in medical education."

Careton M. Chapman, M.D., Dean, Dartmouth Medical School, Hanover, N.H.: "I have the release concerning your remarks on cutbacks in Federal health programs and am most grateful to receive it. I am also gratified and heartened at its content. It is my privilege to work very closely with Dr. John Cooper, President of the Association of American Medical Colleges and, as a consequence, I am kept fully informed concerning the

problems of and prospects for American Medical Schools. It boils down to this: if the House recommendations for cutbacks are final, we will be hard put to it even to hold the line. If the AAMC's recommendations for funding, which are relatively modest, are accepted, the schools will be able to embark on a program that will result in a 50% increase in places for entering students by 1975. This, as you no doubt know, is the generally accepted rate of expansion that is designed to end the physician shortage by the early 80's.

"There is a popular notion that we can, by getting the water out of our research expenditures, accomplish the same goal despite the cuts recommended by the House. This is not the case unless, of course, we ignore the implementation of some of the items you mentioned in your release. We have already moved a long way toward eliminating research outlays and we cannot go much further without degrading the quality of training . . .

"I write at such length because I seldom have the opportunity to address Members of Congress directly on the subject. But, as you say, current trends, if not successfully countered, will be ruinous to medical training and essential research and, ultimately, to the Nation's general well-being I suppose. In conclusion, the thing that distresses us most is the implication that much of what we are doing is a non-essential luxury and that we should be turning out a cheaper—and inferior—product."

John W. Patterson, M.D., Dean, University of Connecticut School of Medicine, Hartford, Conn.: "Thanks for privilege of reviewing your speech 'Pound Foolish Cut Backs in Federal Program Threaten Nation With Growing Health Crisis'. Your arguments are sound and your priorities well stated. Hope you will be successful in adjusting health research appropriations upward."

August G. Swanson, M.D., Acting Dean, University of Washington School of Medicine, Seattle, Wash.: "Thank you for sending a copy of your remarks on the federal medical education and medical research bills. Your strong support and interest is much appreciated. I concur entirely that unless continued adequate funding is made available irreparable damage will be done to both our research and educational mission. Many schools are attempting to increase the number of positions trained and to modify their curricula so that they will be better trained. Funds for educational innovation and for research are essential if we are to attack the crisis in health services facing this Nation."

John Parks, M.D., Dean, George Washington University Medical Center, Washington, D.C.: "You have clearly and succinctly defined the status of medical education and research as they relate to Federal support and the American public. I trust that your colleagues in Congress and the Executive Branch of our Government will agree wholeheartedly, as I do, with your evaluations and recommendations. This is a critical period for the medical schools and research centers of our country. We need Federal support more than ever before in order to fulfill our responsibilities to the public."

Raymond D. Pruitt, M.D., Director, Mayo Graduate School of Medicine, Rochester, Minn.: "May I express my appreciation of the comments you propose to make in the House of Representatives on Thursday, December 4, 1969 'Pound Foolish Cut Backs in Federal Programs Threaten Nation With Growing Health Crisis'. I share your concern in the gravity of that crisis. May I emphasize one point which I am sure is consonant with your own thinking, namely, that as we undertake reorganization of their research programs in such a way as to concentrate on solving health problems rather than funding medical education, we take immediate and



major steps to provide for adequate funding of medical education in the name of education itself."

Charles C. Sprague, M.D., Dean, University of Texas Southwestern Medical School at Dallas, Dallas, Tex.: "Congratulations and thanks for your thoughtful and timely health message to Congress. You have covered the primary points of vital concern to the future health of our people and the stability of medical education and research. I hope your point of view is shared by more of your colleagues than was suggested by the House appropriation bill."

J. Lowell Orbison, M.D., Dean, University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry, Rochester, N.Y.: "I believe you have stated the case succinctly and it emphasizes the very real concern of all of us in the medical profession in our efforts to educate future physicians and at the same time to continue and expand the health care needs in each of our communities. The financial situation in health care is desperate and I am most appreciative of your efforts on our behalf."

Mason Meads, M.D., Vice President for Medical Affairs and Dean, Bowman Gray School of Medicine of Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, N.C.: "I have received your letter and the attachment of remarks you will make to the House of Representatives on Thursday, December 4, 1969. I wish to congratulate you on this strong, well written, and well documented statement and thank you for your efforts on behalf of medical education and medical research in this country. The situation as you portrayed is indeed critical and your leadership in this matter is deeply appreciated."

William H. Danforth, M.D., Vice Chancellor for Medical Affairs, Washington University School of Medicine, St. Louis, Mo.: "I appreciate the opportunity of seeing the advance copy of the remarks to be made on the floor of the House Thursday, December 4, 1969. I am in complete agreement with the tenor of your remarks. I wish you every success in your undertaking. I am extremely concerned about the future funding for biomedical research and education. Support of these two areas will pay off in better health care for the American people."

"A serious interruption of this support would set us back even if it were only temporary since many projects and groups which have started would have to be stopped and then set up again. . . . It certainly makes good sense to separate clearly the research projects from the education projects. This undertaking will not be easy since, in a given instance, it may be difficult to tell whether a professor is engaged in research or teaching. For example, he may be running a research program in a coronary care unit to which he brings students for part of their instruction. Students and house staff may participate in the treatment of these patients to the level of their competence. The only concern that I have is that there be plenty of time allowed to work out guidelines for this type of separation so that we do not find two halves of one operation—one of which is well funded and one of which is not funded at all."

"Finally, I believe that we need to continue a proper mix of basic research and mission oriented research. For example, we need continuing research in how best to treat patients in cancer. At the same time we need to recognize that we do not know enough about cancer to have a rational basis for the treatment of many types of tumors. Many cancers still have a 95 percent mortality in the first five years. We need to know more about the basis of why cells grow and what goes wrong with their growth patterns so that we can in turn develop new mission oriented research projects. Your support of biomedical research is very heartening."

R. E. Carter, M.D., Director and Dean, University of Mississippi Medical Center, Jackson, Mississippi: "Thank you very much

for forwarding your remarks to be made in the House of Representatives on Thursday, December 4, 1969. We have been working closely with our congressional delegation from Mississippi, and realize that all medical schools need increased and continuing financial support if we are to meet the national health crisis."

W. N. Hubbard, Jr., M.D., Dean, University of Michigan Medical School, Ann Arbor, Mich.: "Thank you for letting me see an advanced copy of the remarks you will make on the floor of the House on Thursday, December 4, 1969. I am delighted to see that this problem will be brought forward for full discussion and debate rather than continue to be handled primarily as a portion of an over-riding and unexceptionable effort to control inflation. The order of magnitude of dollars concerned with adequate funding of the sole source of production of physicians in the United States as contrasted to the magnitude of dollars involved in control of inflation suggests that the validity of appropriations to support medical schools cannot properly be examined in the frame of reference of inflation control. There are, I believe, two major issues. The first is to determine the nature of the public benefit that the Congress wishes to obtain as a result of appropriating funds to medical schools. Here the classical divisions of teaching, research and service are simultaneously competitive."

"The second major question is the total volume of support that the Federal government wishes to provide for the gross operations of medical schools. This latter figure will control the total output of any and all of the three major divisions referred to above. That is to say, the total output of medical schools is immediately related to the gross dollar input. It is by labeling the purpose of funds at their source that the Congress can influence the emphasis on one or more of the three functions of teaching, research and service."

"It is by varying the total amount of money available to medical schools that the Congress can influence the over-all productivity of these institutions. In the best of all possible worlds it would be desirable for each medical school to be funded to its full capacity for serving the public interest in teaching, research and service. Each of these functions can be and continue to be separately defended, with the result that the gross requests exceed political feasibility. Even more threatening is the fact that decreases in research and research training funds are not being offset by increases in teaching and service funds, with the result that the gross income to medical schools is being abruptly reduced in many instances at the very time that massively increased expectations for output are being unrealistically expressed. Please accept my thanks for your interest in these problems and my best wishes for your success."

Warren E. Weaver, Dean, School of Pharmacy, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Va.: "I have read with great interest your remarks which you will make on the floor of the House on Thursday, December 4. It is certainly heartening to know that Congressmen such as you are alert to the problems that are confronting us in health care and in health care education. At a time when all of us are trying to increase the number of persons entering the health care fields and improve the quality of health care, it is certainly discouraging to be faced with funding cut offs. The effect of these cuts on the future of health care research and our ability to provide the health professionals needed to meet the medical needs of our people can be frightening to consider. I do hope your remarks receive the consideration they deserve."

Robert G. Page, M.D., Dean, Medical College of Ohio, Toledo, Ohio: "Thank you in-

deed for sending me a preview of your speech which you will give on December 4th. I heartily agree with everything you say and have been urging those who are in a position to do so, to set national priorities in such a way, that many of the matters which you mention in your speech will be taken care of in a most expeditious fashion. If at any time, I can supply you with information which would be helpful in supporting your thoughts, please let me know."

George T. Harrell, M.D., Dean and Director, Pennsylvania State University College of Medicine, Hershey, Pa.: "Thank you for your note of November 26 with the enclosed copy of the remarks that you will make December 4. I was particularly pleased to note that you are aware of the different needs of new health schools over the old ones. I will follow with great interest the legislation you propose to introduce to meet our specific needs. Our students at Penn State have felt keenly this year the cutback in loans and scholarships. As a State institution, we do not draw from a wealthy clientele so that our students need all the financial support we can muster for them. The problem of recruitment of faculty for the new schools is, indeed a major one, as you point out."

"The past program of training grants has not produced all the faculty needed by the existing schools much less developed a pool for the new and developing schools. We are now in a position where we could begin to help through training grants in the preparation of young faculty members for the next generation of developing schools. The situation in research grants is particularly acute in new schools. With the cutback in funding, faculty members transferring from one school to another find it very difficult to insure continued funding of the grants in the new school. As a result, qualified faculty are reluctant to move to new schools. More liberal funding of research programs to permit all approved grants to be funded would help all medical schools. I hope these comments will be helpful. We sincerely trust that your efforts to improve the financial support of medical schools will be successful. Perhaps the greatest tragedy is the breaking-up of research teams which have taken in many instances as long as ten years to recruit and train. Even if funding were restored immediately, it would prove impossible to get the teams back together again and to restore the momentum of the past several years."

Robert B. Kugel, M.D., Dean, University of Nebraska College of Medicine, Omaha, Nebr.: "Thank you for sending me a copy of the remarks which you will be delivering in the House of Representatives this Thursday, December 4, 1969. May I start by commending you on a forceful and forthright presentation of the various factors contributing to the growing health crisis. I very much uphold your sentiments, and I am including some comments of my own delivered at our last year's Centennial Celebration on The Future of Medicine. At the University of Nebraska, College of Medicine, we have been experiencing the same cutbacks now characteristic of almost all medical schools in the country. That this has cut into our reserves is clear and that it will contribute to our difficulty is equally apparent. For the last five to seven years the University of Nebraska, College of Medicine, has been gradually improving our resources, our faculty, and our student body. We have just now reached a level where we can be on a reasonably competitive basis with any other medical school in the country. If the continued cutback at the federal level continues, our ability to sustain this effort which has improved the caliber of education being provided to students and at the same time has increased the number of students being graduated, will be in very serious jeopardy. If I can be of any further assistance to

you by providing additional information for testimony, I would be happy to do so."

Arthur P. Richardson, M.D., Dean, Woodruff Medical Center of Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.: "I have read a copy of your proposed remarks to be made on the Floor of the House on December 4th. I doubt if anyone would argue with the facts as you have stated them. You have made a good case for full funding of proposed programs—and then some. I suppose our problem, just as you have stated, comes down to a matter of establishing a proper order of priorities. To me, the first priority must be in the training of more health professionals. I am particularly concerned with the establishment of adequate training facilities for allied health professions. This in no way means that we should de-emphasize the efforts to train physicians. In general, I am very much in favor of the remarks which you plan to make."

George A. Wolf, Jr., M.D., Dean and Provost, University of Kansas Medical Center, Kansas City, Kans.: "Thank you for letting me see your presentation which will be presented to the House on Thursday, December 4, I can only agree with all the points you made. I particularly appreciate the way you have indicated the importance of Preventive Medicine and made the point that medical schools have not been adequately supported at any level."

James L. Dennis, M.D., Vice President and Dean, University of Oklahoma Medical Center, Oklahoma City, Okla.: "Thank you for sending me a copy of the remarks you propose to make on the Floor of the House on December 4, 1969. I know nothing of your political philosophy, but you are thinking straight in your projections of the devastation that is currently being dealt to medical education and medical research by indiscriminate cuts in Federal programs. The only area in which your remarks gave me concern relate to the recommendation that research programs be reorganized to solve health problems rather than to fund medical education. The principle is acceptable, but what I fear is that we will just continue to retract support for research without a balancing effort in support of medical education—for this is exactly what is happening. Many schools of medicine are on the edge of a cliff, one more push and it is all over. Thank you for your sagacity and your dedicated effort."

Darrel J. Mase, Dean, University of Florida College of Health Related Professions, Gainesville, Fla.: "I appreciated receiving the copy of the remarks made on the Floor of the House on Thursday, December 4, 1969 relative to medical research and health services. I was especially pleased to find that you recognized and included the need for allied health personnel. The Allied Health Professions Act of 1966 was the first attempt at funding for these many programs. However, it has never been funded in any fashion satisfactory for meeting the needs. Many universities arranged to get more health manpower in a much shorter time than we can get physicians and dentists to help provide good health care for all members of society. Then the funds were not forthcoming."

Sherman M. Mellinkoff, M.D., Dean, University of California, Los Angeles School of Medicine, Los Angeles, Calif.: "Thank you for your thoughtful note of November 26 and for the copy of your 'Pound Foolish' paper on the cutbacks in federal health support. I am sure this spirited, compelling and strongly documented brief was highly effective, not only in persuading those who did not already agree with you but in giving those already enlisted in the cause useful equipment for advancing it. I will see that it gets a good distribution in my sector. This harried medical educator is grateful for your initiative and commitment in this vital area of federal support of health services and training and research."

## TRIBUTE TO A GREAT AMERICAN INDIAN

### HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep sadness that I report the untimely death at 51 of a great American Indian, Vernon Jackson, of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Indians. The vision and dedication of Vernon Jackson were the driving force of an economic development on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation that has become a showcase for both the Second Congressional District of Oregon and the entire Indian community of this Nation.

Vernon Jackson was the chief executive officer and general manager of a highly successful corporation formed among the Warm Springs Tribes that built a multi-million-dollar operation on the reservation. The tribe now runs the \$1 million Kah-nee-ta resort facility which is undergoing major expansion, and a \$4 million logging and lumber product manufacturing enterprise that makes maximum use and profit from the reservation's timber reserves.

This success story is one of the brightest pages in the modern history of the American Indian. The Warm Springs Tribes have a highly promising livelihood. More importantly, they have a clear purpose and direction for themselves and their children. This would not have been possible without Vernon Jackson.

The long history of the American Indian is rich with the exploits of courageous men and women. In the lives of those past heroes there were common threads of strong character, pride in their race, and always a deep commitment to their own people. Vernon Jackson can rank among them for what he was and what he did.

In his work for the Warm Springs Tribe, he was single-minded in purpose and devotion. He dreamed of and reached for, goals that to others may have seemed beyond reach. In his lifetime, he saw some of those dreams brought to reality. And many of the goals he sought no longer seem so distant. There were times when some may have doubted, but his faith and his optimism remained constant. When some men might have given in to despair, Vernon Jackson maintained a cheerful, but stubborn, determination.

The extraordinary qualities that he displayed in carrying out his work made him a giant among the people and leaders of other tribes throughout the Nation. In expressing the hopes and aspirations of his own people at Warm Springs, and in carrying out the policies of wise councilmen elected to lead throughout his years of service, Vernon Jackson struck sparks of inspiration and hope wherever he went.

I listened to him speak many times. He talked with fervent passion about the feeling he had for his reservation and his people. He loved the land and he wanted it left secure and prosperous. But

he looked and learned from the sad experience of others, and feared that it might not be so unless many things were done. It was to these things that he dedicated his life: to bring greater opportunity where there was little before; to offer a bright future to the young people of Warm Springs so they would not have to make a bitter choice whether to leave or to languish, to bring dignity and pride to young and old alike in building for the future, and to make the reservation a model for all to see and others to follow.

But in his lifetime, Vernon Jackson became far more than a builder for his own people. He became a symbol for others throughout the country who understood and shared his vision.

From remarkable parents, from his loving family, and from the people of the Warm Springs Tribe, Vernon Jackson, drew the wisdom, the character, the strength of will, and the inspiration to become such a man and such a leader. He has earned a high place in the hearts and memories of all who knew him and worked with him.

One of the greatest monuments a man can leave behind when he departs this life is that of esteem and admiration.

But I pray for something more. I pray that the beautiful dreams he had for this Warm Springs land will one day be brought to reality for all of you.

That will be Vernon Jackson's greatest and most lasting monument.

I close with the addition of tributes from Oregon newspapers to one of the State's finest citizens:

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Statesman, Dec. 5, 1969]

#### TRIBAL LEADER WHO SPURRED DEVELOPMENT FOR WARM SPRINGS RESERVATION DIES

PORTLAND.—Vernon Jackson, 51, whose vision brought commercial success to the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, died Thursday in a Portland hospital.

A reservation spokesman said Jackson entered the hospital Tuesday and died at 5 a.m. Thursday of natural causes that were not detailed.

Jackson was a 20th Century Indian, receiving a bachelor's degree in business administration in 1958 from the University of Oregon, and serving as general manager of the reservation from 1944.

He was believed to be the first member of the reservation to complete college. He often told the story of how an older Indian challenged him to get the education.

His leadership resulted in the transformation of the reservation's arid, Central Oregon land to a multi-million dollar commercial establishment.

The major industries are the Kah-Nee-Ta Vacation Resort and the Warm Springs Forest Products Industries, as well as a number of smaller businesses.

The Warm Springs Tribal Council invested a million dollars of its funds in natural hot springs to heat three mammoth pools to 85 degrees.

The resort includes cabins and teepees with dirt floors and center campfires, a campground, a lodge and a restaurant.

Jackson was a Wasco Indian who attended the Chemawa Indian School near Salem.

He was on the governor's Manpower Development Committee, the Committee for a Livable Oregon, was the governor's representative to the Interstate Indian Council and a member of the U.S. delegation at the Inter-American Indian Congress.

A lifelong friend of Jackson's, Mrs. Ruby



Leno, once said he had the ability to acquire the good points of people he met.

She said the teachers at Chemawa had a profound influence on his life, as well as his paternal grandfather, Jim Jackson, and his father, a tribal leader for many years.

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian, Dec. 8, 1969]

#### A LEADER OF HIS PEOPLE

Some of the self-appointed spokesmen for American minorities may have thought Vernon Jackson, Oregon's great, younger Indian leader, a square. He didn't encourage violence and demand pay-offs from the whites. He was an enthusiastic sports fan, particularly for teams of the University of Oregon from which he graduated at the age of 40. He didn't ride, hunt and fish very much, but he was an avid golfer.

But what Verne Jackson did for the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of which his Wasco tribe is one, and for less fortunate Indian tribes throughout the nation, should be an example to all who put themselves forward in the cause of racial minorities.

Mr. Jackson was an activist and a politician who got things done. As general manager and chief executive officer of the tribal corporation, he provided the driving force in development of Kah-nee-ta Hot Springs, a \$1 million resort with plans for a \$4.3 million expansion. His was the primary responsibility for the Tribal Council's \$3.8 million logging, sawmill and plywood complex to utilize reservation timber. He was a leader in obtaining adequate housing and in expansion and conservation of the reservation's fishery and grazing resources.

Not content to give all his time to the common benefit of his own people on the Warm Springs reservation, he traveled to many other reservations and attended all important Indian conferences to help tribes less favored with natural resources than the Warm Springs tribes. He was a national as well as an Oregon leader of the Indians. His death at 51, after several years of treatment for high blood pressure, is a loss Indians and other Americans can ill afford. The Warm Springs tribal council must continue to build on the solid foundation Vernon Jackson constructed.

#### RESOLUTION SUPPORTING OUR SERVICEMEN IN VIETNAM

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**  
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Jerome L. Danels, president of Local 558 UAW, of Willow Springs, Ill., has forwarded to me a copy of a resolution adopted by the membership of that organization supporting our servicemen in Vietnam. I insert the letter from Mr. Danels and his fellow officers and the resolution into the RECORD at this point:

LOCAL 558 U.A.W.,

Willow Springs, Ill., December 3, 1969.

Hon. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DERWINSKI: Enclosed is a copy of a resolution adopted by our Executive Board on October 27 and again at our November 16 Membership Meeting by those members in attendance.

We believe that the time has come to voice support of our sons and brothers who so loyally answered the call of their country as we witness the activity of those who give aid and comfort to the Hanoi dictatorship.

Please be advised that no labor body, International Union Officers or labor alliance is authorized to endorse any moratorium activity that associates the members of Local 558 United Auto Workers as a sponsor. Local 558 has 3100 members who are employed by the Fisher Body Stamping Plant in Willow Springs, Illinois.

Sincerely,

JEROME L. DANELS,  
President.  
TONY PETRUSONIS,  
Financial Secretary-Treasurer.  
BERNARD W. McNAMARA,  
Recording Secretary.

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT THE MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF LOCAL 558 U.A.W., NOVEMBER 16, 1969

Whereas, the primary commitment to the people of South Vietnam by the Government of the United States is primarily to guarantee them freedom from rule by a communist dictatorship, and

Whereas, the investment in freedom from communist totalitarianism by the American people in this war is 40,000 dead and billions in tax dollars.

Whereas, the middle class and lower middle class American family is the greatest contributor to this cause, and

Whereas, we on the home front do not hesitate to stand up in solid support of our fighting men in Korea and Vietnam who have sacrificed so much in terms of life, limb, personal liberty and happiness, and

Whereas, the organizers and promoters of the moratorium movement have successfully misled many thousands of Americans in mass demonstrations demanding an abandonment of our aid to the people of South Vietnam to help them remain free from communist enslavement, and

Whereas, many of these organizers, spokesmen, and promoters are committed to the ideals of Marxist and Communist theory and teachings and are actively supporting anarchy, revolution and the destruction of our Republic, and

Whereas, any activity displaying lack of support for the elected leaders of our nation will give aid and comfort to the enemy and encourage them to kill even more of our sons and brothers on the front line in a desperate attempt to seek a final military victory that is not now possible,

Now therefore, be it resolved: That the members of UAW Local 558 in attendance at the November 16, 1969 Membership Meeting call upon all of their fellow members, their relatives and friends, to unconditionally support the policy of the President of the United States in his efforts to seek peace with honor in Vietnam,

And be it further resolved: That said members unanimously endorse the words of Vice President Spiro Agnew in his criticism of those persons involved in the moratorium activity and of the biased news commentary and programming of the major television networks.

#### HEW FUNDS COMMUNIST ACTION GROUP

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**  
OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the local news media have remained strangely silent about a startling front-page story in the Chicago Tribune—a story detailing the granting of more than \$1 million of taxpayers' money by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to a Communist-front organization active in

promoting the Chicago riots of 1968. The HEW funding continues—promoting the North Vietnamese enemy today.

For the information of our colleagues who may not have access to the Chicago Tribune, I include the two days of front-page reports on December 7 and 8, 1969, in my remarks:

**RADICALS GIVEN \$1 MILLION—HEW FUNDS SURVEYS OF HEALTH NEEDS—GROUP OPENLY BACKS REDS**

(By Ronald Koziol)

A student group which openly supports the Communist party has received more than one million dollars in federal funds in the last two years, a Tribune investigation has disclosed.

The group is the Student Health organization (S.H.O.), which has described itself in news letters as "a refuge for the left-of-center health student activists."

#### MONEY FROM HEW

It received the money from the department of health, education, and welfare to conduct surveys of health needs in Chicago and six other cities.

In Chicago, \$183,953 was spent on the survey which was conducted in the summer of 1968. Other cities or areas surveyed included New York, Philadelphia, Colorado, and southern California. A total of \$739,818 was given to five medical centers in the name of the S.H.O. to perform the surveys.

Money given to the S. H. O. during the Johnson administration continued to be funneled to the organization since President Nixon took office. This year, the government approved \$254,800 for the S. H. O. to conduct similar surveys in Wisconsin and northern New England.

#### DEDICATED TO HO

The latest issue of the S. H. O. news letter is dedicated to the memory of North Vietnamese Communist leader Ho Chi Minh. Its cover shows a picture of Che Guevara, slain Cuban revolutionary, and it quotes favorably Mao Tse-tung, Red Chinese leader, and Eldridge Cleaver, self-exiled leader of the militant Black Panther party.

It also carries obscene cartoons critical of the military and the war in Viet Nam, and a favorable story on "Cuba's Revolutionary Medicine." One article attacks American liberals, such as Mayor John Lindsay of New York, and Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers union.

Another article by the S.H.O. national service center staff, which formerly had offices at 2024 N. Halsted St., spells out the strategies and policies of the organization. It states:

"We feel that it is absolutely crucial to support third world liberation struggles in the mother country. To not do so would be an open form of racism. This means clear and real support of the NLF [National Liberation Front] and the Peoples' Revolutionary Government of Viet Nam."

#### CREATING MANY VIETS

"It means not only relating to the anti-war movement, but also relating to the strategy of creating 'one, two, three, many Viet Nams.'"

"We should try to understand, relate to, and work with other revolutionary groups. This would mean that we should start working closer with the largest of these organizations, the Students for a Democratic Society."

Government's officials said the survey projects were devised, organized, and directed by S. H. O. members. The only federal requirement was that money for the surveys channeled thru medical schools or hospitals.

#### ST. LUKE'S IN CHICAGO

In Chicago, Presbyterian-St. Luke's hospital assumed the responsibility for the federal

funding contract. Dr. Joyce Lashoff served as adviser to the group.

"I believe the survey got across what was required and that the contract was fulfilled," Dr. Lashoff said. "The government's regional medical program felt the survey could be helpful in identifying certain programs."

She said students studying medicine, nursing, law, and social work were employed in the 10-week program.

Bryan Lovelace, assistant director of the Illinois Regional Medical program of HEW said he did not know anything about the survey report. However, Marilyn Voss, a public in the office, said that the report is in the process of being printed.

#### STUDIED BY 24 DEANS

When it is printed, the survey will be studied by 24 deans of medical schools and teaching hospitals which compose the board of the regional medical program, she said.

Officials in Washington contend that the surveys have turned up information that would not otherwise be available. One official in the health services and mental health administration said "the regional medical programs will know how to use the survey information."

It was also noted in a lengthy Washington report on the summer health project surveys that "it was readily obvious that such information could not be obtained thru traditional channels [formal surveys]."

#### PERTURBED BY AMBIGUITY

In the S. H. O. survey report, which was obtained for study by THE TRIBUNE, it is noted that "many students conducting the survey were perturbed by the ambiguity of their roles and complained that they did not know exactly what to do."

The report continued, "Part of this uncertainty was due to the deliberate attempt by the staff to avoid stifling student's creativity by a strict guideline of their roles, thinking that the summer's experience would be more productive if students were independent to design their own activity."

Another chapter in the survey deals with interviews conducted in the Pilsen community by S. H. O. members. It was pointed out that students selected persons to be interviewed by chance and haphazardly. According to the report:

"We would walk thru the streets of the area and approach anyone we saw who was out on the sidewalk or on their front porch and appeared not to be doing anything pressing. We would then present ourselves."

#### INEXPERIENCE AND RELUCTANCE

"Our reasons for not using a more rigorous sampling procedure was our inexperience and our reluctance to engage in house-to-house canvassing."

Altho the survey report was to concern itself with health needs, it also devoted a section to attacking the Rev. Francis Lawlor and his southwest side block clubs.

"We do not wish to discount blatant racism as a force in the community," it said. "There are John Birchers, white supremacists, and nazis in some neighborhoods, but most of the people subscribe to the tried and true racial misconceptions pervasive in America."

Miss Voss said that the S.H.O. survey was responsible for the opening of a free inner-city medical clinic on the west side in an area which has had little previous medical care. The clinic was opened in September with a government grant of \$71,400.

The survey also proposed several amendments to the state's medical assistance programs.

HOW U.S. PAY AIDED 1968 RIOTERS—REBELS PAID BY UNITED STATES HELP PUSH RIOT HERE—THEY HELP PUSH CITY DISORDERS (By Ronald Ezziol)

Four student radicals helped organize demonstrations against the Democratic national

convention last year while being paid by the federal government to conduct a health survey in the city, THE TRIBUNE has learned.

The four are listed as members of the Student Health Organization (S.H.O.). THE TRIBUNE disclosed yesterday that the S.H.O. received more than 1 million dollars in federal funds in the last two years, altho it openly supports the Communist party in Vietnam and thruout the world.

#### CLOSELY LINKED TO S.D.S.

S.H.O. is closely linked to the Students for Democratic Society (S.D.S.) and other radical and militant groups which have staged riots in Chicago at the 1968 convention, and in October, and last month in Washington.

The four are Marsha Steinberg, Barbara Britts, Mark Simons and James Pinney. Miss Steinberg was indicted by a county grand jury on charges of mob action and aggravated battery stemming from the Sept. 24 disturbances and attacks on police near the Federal building.

She has also been charged with mob action and disorderly conduct as a result of the S.D.S.-Weatherman faction rampage thru the near north side on the night of Oct. 8.

Miss Steinberg and Pinney are listed in the survey report as area coordinators. In this capacity they received a salary of \$1,200 for the 10 weeks the survey was in progress. Miss Britts and Simons were participants in the survey-taking and received \$90 a week for 10 weeks.

Investigators said that during the convention week Miss Steinberg was observed in several demonstrations and was also active in recruiting S.H.O. members into the S.D.S.

#### WRITES POSITION PAPER

Pinney is a leader of the R.Y.M. II or Revolutionary Youth Movement faction of the S.D.S. He was repeatedly seen during convention week at one of the S.D.S. prime movement centers at the Church of the Three Crosses, 1900 Sedgwick st.

Pinney recently wrote a position paper with four other activists which stated that R.Y.M. II should form a Marxist-Leninist organization. The paper noted:

"We must prepare ourselves and the masses for an armed struggle. People in our organization should be prepared to defend themselves and to use all the weapons necessary for revolutionary struggle."

#### NEGOTIATORS FOR COMMITTEE

The names of Miss Britts and Simons appear in testimony presented to the House internal security committee in hearings in October, 1968, during its probe into the convention week disorders.

Simon was a negotiator for the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, the chief planners of the convention week disruptions. In his role as a negotiator, Simon met with city officials in an attempt to obtain permits for different demonstrations.

#### PAID DURING RIOTS

Also in attendance at the planning session was Miss Britts, who served as the liaison between the S.H.O. and the Medical Committee on Human Rights, a group that furnished medical aid to convention week rioters.

Investigators said she played an active role in organizing first aid stations and mobile first aid teams, and in training marshals in first aid.

Dr. Joyce Lashoff, of Presbyterian-St. Luke's hospital who served as faculty adviser for the 1968 survey said records showed that the four students were paid for the entire summer, including the months of July and August and during the convention week riots.

Presbyterian-St. Luke's hospital assumed responsibility for the federal funding for the survey in Chicago. The department of health, education, and welfare in making the money available for the S.H.O., insisted that

it be channeled thru a hospital or medical group.

The S.H.O. role in the convention week disorders was brought out in the congressional testimony by James L. Gallagher, an investigator for the House committee.

#### SET UP STATIONS

Gallagher in a memo to the Cleveland chapter of S.H.O. noted that its responsibility in convention week would be to set up first aid stations and give medical attention to injured persons in jail. Medical supplies would also be collected in Cleveland in the pre-convention period. He said:

"This I think is noteworthy because it implies an intention of creating a confrontation. Its members were informed that a camera crew would be set up to take pictures of alleged police brutality and arrests in Chicago."

The Tribune disclosed yesterday that S.H.O. chapters in New York City, Philadelphia, Colorado, California, Wisconsin, and New England received government funds to conduct health surveys.

### CALIFORNIA ARCHITECTS ENDORSE STRONG PROGRAMS IN POPULATION CONTROL AND AIR POLLUTION

#### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, not too long ago, it would have been thought quite unusual for a major professional organization to be campaigning in areas beyond their own immediate scope of interest.

Fortunately, many of these narrow viewpoints seem to be disappearing, and I am grateful whenever I see one of these groups taking forthright stands on major issues.

One profession which always has been in the forefront of this effort of facing overriding national problems is that of the architect-planner. And recently, when the fall meeting of the board of directors of the California Council of the American Institute of Architects took place at Palm Springs, two significant resolutions were adopted by the organization.

I commend the council for its stand on these important questions of air pollution and population control, and I place the resolutions in the RECORD at this point:

#### RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY BOARD OF DIRECTORS, CCAIA

Whereas the aggravating increase in environmental pollution from the noxious and poisonous by-products of industrial machinery and especially of the internal combustion engine (automobiles, trucks, etc.) threaten not only the physical but also the economic health of this state and nation, and

Whereas the Chief Deputy Attorney General of California, in testifying to the need for changes in the state smog laws, has stated as follows: "Regardless of our growing concern over the quality of our lives, regardless of studies which have been conducted, and laws which have been passed, the air we breathe and the water we use continue to deteriorate" (L.A. Times, Friday, Oct. 3, 1969, Part 2 p. 8) and

Whereas the automobile manufacturers have not developed a positive and effective



remedy for these dangerous and poisonous emissions, and

Whereas the automobile manufacturers have been contending for an out of court settlement of the government's suit charging the automobile companies with conspiracy to obstruct efforts to clear the atmosphere of smog, and

Whereas a number of Air Pollution Control Districts have pledged united support in an attempt to halt the U.S. Justice Department's proposed out of court settlement of the Anti-trust suit against automobile manufacturers accusing the manufacturers of conspiring to delay development and installation of smog control devices on automotive equipment under consideration.

Therefore be it resolved that the CCAIA Board of Directors assembled, being fully convinced of the serious threat to urban existence posed by pollution of the environment by the internal combustion engine, does hereby commend and support the forthright action of the Chief Deputy Attorney General of California, his associates and other public officials, and

Be it further resolved that we commend those of our elected representatives who have worked for strong and workable anti-smog measures, and urge those others who have not done so to work for the same legislation, and

Be it further resolved that the CCAIA does urge its members to exert pressures on all elected representatives and legislators as citizens and taxpayers to obtain their interest and support for effective and constructive legislation directed at the elimination of all forms of environmental pollution.

Whereas our pollution problems and conservation problems relate directly to the number of people that now inhabit this planet and will inhabit it in the future.

Resolved that the California Council, The American Institute of Architects board of directors, encourages and supports all efforts of The American Institute of Architects to study the problem of population growth as it relates to the development and conservation of our environment.

#### LEGAL AID—VICTIM OF SMEAR, CHEAP POLITICS, AND INTIMIDATION

**HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the Legal Aid Society of St. Louis is in danger of being destroyed. The recent decisions by the United Fund of St. Louis and the county supervisor to withdraw financial support of the organization are irresponsible acts. It seems that the United Fund and County Supervisor Lawrence Roos have become part of the nationwide campaign to undermine and eventually destroy programs for the representation of the poor. Enemies of the legal services program have employed smear tactics, cheap politics, and intimidation to discredit the society. It is regrettable that an organization such as the United Fund would allow its judgment to be influenced by such a campaign. I expected Supervisor Roos to join the ranks of those screaming for the scalps of the protectors of the poor. His commitment both private and public has been to those who are enemies of the poor.

But the United Fund, an organization

that solicits funds from the total community, has deserted the principle that every man is entitled to equal treatment under the law regardless of his financial status. The fund is decidedly more interested now—in protecting its "image" and in reaching its "goals"—than in its commitment to serve the unmet needs of society's poor, depressed and deprived.

It is most unfortunate that the fund, which originated to fill the vacuum created by inaction for the less fortunate—has now become "big business" and can afford only those popularly accepted needs. The United Fund withdrew its financial support of the Legal Aid Society because the attorneys for the society have defended some militant, poor organizations in court. Adverse publicity by a local newspaper and threats by industrialists, labor union leaders, and business tycoons that they would not contribute to future fund campaigns prompted the decision.

Mr. Speaker, the United Fund in St. Louis is not now tied to the needy, but to the benevolent—to those who seek to be charitable while maintaining the status quo. Their services are no longer based on the needs and rights of people—but upon the interests of large contributors.

Society has degenerated to a low ebb when a person's right to legal representation and protection depends on the popularity of the issue in which he is involved.

Who, if not the Legal Aid Society, shall offer legal counsel and representation to the poor? Where, if not in the courts, would you have these grievances resolved? When, if not now, do we commit to change within a system which has perpetrated poverty by its own immunity to the problems of the poor? Why, can you tell me, has the United Fund found it necessary to join the rigid power structure? And how, Mr. Speaker, do they defend their dastardly act and how, Mr. Speaker, shall they live with that decision?

Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the following articles from the St. Louis Post Dispatch: "United Fund and Legal Aid" dated December 4, 1969, and "Plea to United Fund on Legal Aid Ouster" dated December 6, 1969:

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Dec. 4, 1969]

#### UNITED FUND AND LEGAL AID

In withdrawing its support of the Legal Aid Society, the United Fund did not accuse the agency, which furnishes legal aid to the indigent, of failing to perform its function effectively. On the contrary, the suspicion is that support was withdrawn precisely because Legal Aid has been effective and, as a consequence, has been the object of a malicious campaign to discredit it.

By running out on Legal Aid, United Fund has told the community that the criterion for assisting an agency is not service, effectiveness or commitment, but popularity. We hope orphan homes never fall into disfavor.

Apart from the manufactured unpopularity of Legal Aid, the sole reason even suggested by United Fund for ending its help is that Legal Aid was included in the fund-raising campaign "on the understanding that the agency would provide legal services to the individual poor." As a matter of fact, the United Fund's own solicitation material acknowledged that Legal Aid not only helps individual indigents but provides "representa-

tion of groups of the poor with common legal problems." Thus, a reason advanced for contributing to the United Fund is now suggested as a reason for not renewing the \$36,000 grant made this year.

Overlooked by United Fund and the irresponsible elements to which it has deferred is the function of the law in our society. The law is intended to provide citizens with a remedy for grievances, whether those grievances be against fellow citizens or institutions created to serve the public. Legal Aid's role is to see that poor people have the same access to this traditional, orderly means for correcting wrongs as other Americans, and it is being penalized for doing so.

If something so conservative as providing access to the law can be considered dangerous, St. Louis is in a bad way. When are the responsible, moderate elements of the community, especially the bench and bar, going to speak up in behalf of Legal Aid?

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Dec. 6, 1969]

#### PLEA TO UNITED FUND ON LEGAL AID OUSTER

The faculty of the St. Louis University School of Law yesterday asked the executive committee of the United Fund to reconsider its decision to expel the Legal Aid Society.

A resolution adopted by the faculty stated that "we express confidence in the operation and policies of the Legal Aid Society. We specifically reject any proposition that legal services should be denied to indigent advocates of unpopular causes as to lawful means of advancing their causes."

The society was expelled from United Fund because of a controversy over its activities.

The resolution which carried a dissent by Joseph Simeone, associate dean of the school, was the second by a university faculty group.

Twenty-one faculty members at the University of Missouri at St. Louis asked the United Fund to give their contributions to the Legal Aid Society or cancel their pledges.

Simeone, who expressed his personal wish that the United Fund would restore money to the society, said he did not believe it appropriate for a faculty to issue statements of an institutional nature on matters of controversy.

On another aspect of the case, however, Simeone noted that five students from Forest Park Community College who were represented Thursday by a Legal Aid attorney in Municipal Court were arrested on civil penalties and not criminal charges.

Civil penalties are violations of municipal ordinances, he pointed out, while criminal cases result from violations of state statutes. He said that the Missouri Supreme Court had held in several cases that violations of ordinances were civil and not criminal offenses.

The distinction is important, he said, because Harold L. Sarnier, the Legal Aid attorney representing the students, had been accused of defending the students on criminal charges. The society's rules limit its attorneys to civil matters.

The students were charged with peace disturbance, interference with police and resisting arrest, and desecration of the flag, after a disturbance at the college Oct. 15.

The United Fund was criticized also yesterday by the North Side Team Ministry, an interfaith group of clergymen, for its expulsion of the society.

In a statement urging the United Fund to "give its fair share to Legal Aid," the clergymen said that, "the poor expect to have access to the courts of our land is the result of years of persuading them to use the existing legal system for the redress of their grievances. For years the poor have been told to operate within the framework of the system. The United Fund Board's decision has effectively and in a most sophis-

licated manner, removed the one access of the poor to that system by which we expect all law abiding citizens to operate.

"The decision suggests, what I know no United Fund Board member wants, that the poor must operate outside of the established legal framework because the one we have is not accessible. Imagine what effect the rent strike in public housing would have had, had not there been some hope in the legal system."

#### THE OTHER SIDE OF PUPIL AID: JOHNNY LEARNS

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, at a time when we tend to emphasize those Federal programs which do not work, I think it important to bring to the attention of Members the story of a young man who is benefiting from the funds his school in West Virginia receives under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Title I has helped turn 15-year-old Johnny Powers of War, W. Va., from a poor reader into a good one, as a very moving story by William K. Stevens in today's New York Times makes clear. For Johnny and his classmates, title I has worked and it is desperately needed.

I am inserting the article in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 9, 1969]  
THE OTHER SIDE OF PUPIL AID: JOHNNY LEARNS; WEST VIRGINIA CLASS IMPROVES READING UNDER 1965 LAW

(By William K. Stevens)

WAR, W. Va.—While critics assail the alleged misuse of money in the nation's biggest Federal aid-to-education program, 15-year-old Johnny Lee Powers, one of its beneficiaries, goes on making B's and C's here at Big Creek High School.

Johnny's experience is evidence that the aid program—Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—has its positive side, too. It has turned him and many of his classmates in this coal-mining section of Appalachia from poor readers into good ones.

Under Title I, Congress over the last four years has provided \$4.3-billion for the education of poverty-stricken children.

When the law was passed in April, 1965, Johnny Powers was finishing the fourth grade at War Elementary and Junior High School, an old-fashioned two-story brick building situated in a pocket at the foot of three mountains. (War, a town of about 2,000 owes its name to an Indian battle in frontier days.)

#### AVERAGE MENTALITY

The slim, neat, soft-spoken boy lived then, as he does now, with his mother, grandmother and older brother in a cleanly kept four-room cabin on one of those mountains. The family subsists on little more than \$2,000 a year in welfare and Social Security payments.

Intelligence tests show Johnny to be of average mentality. But at the end of the fourth grade he was about a year behind where he should have been in reading ability. This has been a familiar story in Appalachia, in the rural South and in big city ghettos. Typically, children in Johnny Power's circumstances fall further and further behind

and never learn to read well. Title I involves an attempt to remove such handicaps.

The law enabled War Elementary School to add to its staff three specially trained remedial reading teachers. The lessons they conduct are nothing fancy or faddish, as visits to their classrooms last week clearly disclosed. Remedial reading is simply a matter of concentrating an expert teacher's efforts on a small group of children—15 or fewer—every day, in a patient effort to discover specific reading weaknesses and attempt to eliminate them through drill, practice and coaching.

Johnny Powers was placed in such a class. He also got a free breakfast every morning, courtesy of Title I, to insure that he had enough energy for the day's work.

#### TESTS SHOW PROGRESS

His test scores show that he made sporadic progress through the fifth, sixth and seventh grades, and entered the eighth grade with a reading score in the 51st percentile, nationally; that is, he was able to read better than half the beginning eighth graders in the United States.

During the eighth grade the years of intensive work paid off. Johnny Powers ended the term reading at the 76th percentile, or better than three-quarters of his peers in the rest of the country.

The 12 other students in Johnny's eighth grade remedial reading class, virtually from poverty-stricken homes, made similar improvements, according to their individual records. On the average, the class gained 16 points on the percentile scale.

The experience of Johnny's class represents the remedial reading program near its best in McDowell County, where War is situated. Not all pupils do as well. Some continue to regress despite all efforts. But the average countrywide gain for the 2,000 pupils in the program was 12 percentage points during the 1966-67 school year and eight points in 1967-68. The pupils ended the 1967-68 year with an average percentile score of 45.

Last year, according to county records, the average score for third graders in the program rose from the 24th to the 49th percentile; for fourth graders, from the 22d to the 44th. Fifth graders remain at the 16th percentile. But sixth and seventh graders lost slightly, and the eighth graders dropped from the 12th to the 3d percentile.

John Drosick, the county's 36-year-old Title I administrator, considers the eighth-grade average an aberration, traceable perhaps to an error in reporting and recording. "You almost have to work at it to score that low," he said. An investigation is planned, he added.

Assuming the rest of the scores are error-free, they are considered remarkable by independent authorities on the reading performance of the disadvantaged. They say that if a child merely stops falling behind, that is considered success. Although no definitive nationwide study on the performance of Title I reading projects has been made, evaluators in the United States Office of Education say their field surveys show the projects to be successful in some cases, not successful in others.

#### FUND DIVERSION ALLEGED

Academic results of Title I programs were not dealt with in the critical report issued last month by the Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy and by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

The report a major attack on the administration of Title I funds, charged, among other things, that in many instances the money was being diverted away from the poor children for which it was intended and used as general school aid instead, that it was being used for nonacademic purposes and that it was being spread among too many children and consequently was not producing favorable results.

In the wake of this criticism, Dr. James E.

Allen Jr., the United States Commissioner of Education, announced that a 15-man task force had been appointed within the Office of Education to investigate Title I.

A visit to McDowell County turned up no apparent gross violations of the kind attacked by the critics, although the final word will come from state and Federal auditors now examining the county's Title I projects. Such audits are carried out routinely on a spot-check basis, and these audits in other parts of the country were relied on heavily by the critics in their report.

#### PER-PUPIL REQUIREMENT

The Office of Education requires that the Title I expenditure per child be at least half the local per-pupil expenditure from state and local funds. McDowell County does better than that in its remedial reading project, in which about \$250 a year in Title I is spent on each student. McDowell's state-local expenditure last year was \$44.59 per pupil.

In its other major Title I project, McDowell spends about \$480 a year in Federal funds on each of about 550 children with severe learning deficiencies and intelligence quotients of less than 75. Some such students—15 at War Elementary, for example—have made gains enough so that they can return to regular classrooms.

The rest of McDowell's \$1-million in Title I money this year goes for health examinations, free breakfasts, an extensive guidance and testing program, audiovisual centers in poverty-stricken areas, and administration.

McDowell, the southernmost county in West Virginia, suffered from great poverty and unemployment in the early and mid-1960's, largely because of automation in the coal mines. Since then many of the unemployed have left, times have got better for those who are working, and modern amenities abound.

But the county still has an unemployment rate estimated at 11 per cent (down from a high of 25 per cent in 1960) and a high enough concentration of poor people to qualify it for more Title I money than any other West Virginia county except Kanawha, the largest. Charleston, the capital, is situated there.

War Elementary School has the county's biggest concentration of pupils classed as economically and educationally deprived—about 400 of the school's 590 children. The principal, Glenn Hatcher, says Title I has enabled his school to do "things we've wanted to do for years and years but didn't have the money for."

But everything is not positive on the McDowell educational scene. For one thing, the requirement that Title I money be concentrated effectively on individual children means that only about half the 5,000 deprived children in the county are being reached by the limited funds. (The county's total school population is about 15,000.)

#### THE CASE OF MANY

And everywhere are some children like long-haired 6-year-old Mary, who comes from a mountain environment so harsh that when she entered the first grade at War Elementary last September she still crawled like a baby, would not respond to anyone, and often hid her head.

Now she is in an experimental "Follow Through" class—designed to continue the benefits of the pre-school Project Head Start—supported jointly by Title I funds and grants from the Office of Economic Opportunity. There she is surrounded by an educationally rich atmosphere that includes movies, toys, number games, puzzles and earphones through which to listen to private lessons.

Today, Mary no longer crawls. She is beginning to learn numbers, to recognize colors and to communicate with other children, her teacher and the teacher's aide.

But the teachers estimate that it will be



about three years before she even begins to decipher print, and that is a measure of how formidable a task still lies ahead in McDowell County.

#### EXPLOITATION OF THE POOR—FOR PROFIT

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, recent news accounts of the apparent extension of credit by a national merchandising house to the recipients of public assistance raises questions of public policy which are addressed directly to the Congress.

In any sensible business transaction, the extension of credit is based upon an assumption that the account will be paid when due, and presupposes two things: That there is a dependable source from which payment can be made, and; that failing such payment, legal process to enforce payment will be available.

Insofar as welfare recipients are concerned, the only source of repayment is the welfare check—which is not subject to assignment, attachment, or seizure. This means that for the creditor to enforce his claim against a debtor unwilling to pay, there must be another means of collection. Such means have been long frowned upon by the very people who now propose this bizarre credit arrangement.

The exploitation of the poor is about to enter a new and very profitable phase. The agitators of the National Welfare Rights Organization are now living very comfortably on poverty—whether by the collection of dues from welfare money intended to feed children, or by collection of grants from tax-free foundations seeking votes to manipulate.

Landlords and loan sharks, both legitimate and illegitimate, have done very well in dealing with the poor and ignorant, whose checks will continue to arrive on schedule and without chance of interruption by layoff or recession. Now it is proposed to add to the list the purveyors of merchandise.

Make no mistake that such a service is neither free or totally altruistic. If purchases are charged, there will be a cost for the extended payment time. That cost will be paid by the welfare recipient, from the welfare money. Funds which are for the purpose of feeding children will be used to pay high rates of interest on loans—deferred purchase price, if you will.

If the merchant suffers a bad debt loss growing out of the welfare credit it will either be added to the operating cost of doing business or written off as a tax deductible bad debt—in either event it will be the productive citizen who pays—whether as a consumer or taxpayer. Prices and taxes will probably both go up.

It is said that this new credit approach will free the poor from the loan sharks of the ghettos, and hence is justified. I say that the scheme will only loose a new covey of sharks to prey on those least able to care for themselves.

I suggest a different approach, and invite Members who actually desire to protect the poor to join me in this idea.

I propose to introduce legislation prohibiting the making of loans or the extension of credit to recipients of public assistance, and providing that no action will lie for the collection of any indebtedness so incurred or the recovery of any merchandise so sold in default of payment. I further propose to prohibit the collection by the professional poverty crowd of any public assistance money for dues or membership fees, or the like, under the theory of advising or helping the poor, when we are already paying literally millions of dollars to welfare department employees throughout the land to perform precisely these same duties.

I include in my remarks the following news clipping:

[From the Evening Star, Dec. 8, 1969]

100 D.C. POOR TO GET CREDIT FROM WARDS  
About 100 of Washington's poorer residents will receive credit from Montgomery Ward under a national agreement between the firm and the National Welfare Rights Organization.

Each will receive up to \$100 in credit during the next year for purchases in the stores and through the catalog.

The 100 local residents are among 3,000 NWRO members who will take part. Welfare recipients and other poor people are included in the welfare rights organization.

"WILL STAMP OUT CROOKS"

Mrs. Etta B. Horn, chairman of the NWRO Credit and Ways and Means Committee, today hailed the agreement as a "great thing. This is something we have been fighting for. We feel like it's going to work."

Mrs. Horn, who also is chairman of the Citywide Welfare Alliance, said credit with a firm like Montgomery Ward "will stamp out the credit crook."

Edward S. Donnell, president of Montgomery Ward, said that "a pilot program to provide credit to responsible welfare recipients is a worthwhile step to make Ward's services uniformly available to all financially responsible consumers. We believe that our mutual efforts in this pilot program will demonstrate that large numbers of welfare recipients will be able to enjoy the same credit account benefits as other customers."

One Washington department store is carrying out an experiment in credit for poor people in cooperation with the United Planning Organization, the local antipoverty agency.

Ashley D. De Shazon, credit vice president of Montgomery Ward, said the program will be inaugurated as fast as Ward's and NWRO chapters are able to clear credit applications. NWRO members in Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Fort Worth, Dallas and Oakland also are taking part. Several additional locations may be added early in 1970.

Those taking part will be issued a Ward's credit card that will be honored at all stores, with a revolving credit limit of \$100. The usual Ward procedures for billing and repayment schedules for credit accounts will be used.

#### COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION OF OUR YOUTH IS URGENT

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, the censor of the Polish National Alli-

ance, Dr. Walter L. Dworakowski, delivered an address which I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues for it places in proper perspective the problems facing our Nation today.

The address follows:

DWORAKOWSKI DECLARES IN DETROIT: COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION OF OUR YOUTH IS URGENT

DETROIT.—Impressive Pulaski Day Parade under the auspices of the Central Citizens' Committee culminated with a patriotic program during which the PNA Censor, Dr. Walter L. Dworakowski delivered the principal address.

President of the Committee, Mitchell Lewandowski welcomed the participants and asked Walter Gajewski, City Clerk of Hamtramck, to preside over the program.

In his address, Censor Dworakowski put strong emphasis on the urgent need of Polonia to pursue ever widening programs of education for our younger generations. His remarks follow.

The knowledge of Casimir Pulaski's deeds and sacrifice lives in the grateful memory of the American nation and dwells in the hearts of ten million Americans of Polish origin as their most precious and enduring heritage.

It would be, therefore, redundant to memorialize his biography. It is known to all of us.

It is, then, more proper and fitting on this occasion to delve into the transcendental meaning of his greatness and his legacy.

Like George Washington and his compatriots, the founders of our Republic, Pulaski was totally and unreservedly committed to the cause of freedom—and its concomitant, the dignity of man. This commitment led him to the historic struggle in the defense of his native Poland, and—later—to the patriotic deeds and military excellence during the American War of Independence.

Knowing Pulaski's dedication to freedom, we can state that, given the opportunity, he would have fought for freedom everywhere in the world.

Destiny led him to the American shores and to Savannah, Georgia, where he laid down his life for the freedom and independence of the United States.

Impressive monuments in Washington, in Savannah and in other American cities, as well as numerous counties, cities, parks, streets and highway named across the country in his honor, speak eloquently of the nation's appreciation of the service he rendered the American revolution.

This, however, is only the outward and visible part of the homage we pay to Pulaski's greatness.

To present-day Americans, and especially to Americans of Polish heritage, Pulaski left a legacy of lasting value and moral force that will always inspire men of civic virtue and wisdom to meaningful, deeply-felt patriotic living.

His example of total commitment to the cause of freedom was, and shall remain, the beacon light illuminating man's path of service to God, country, and nation. For we must realize, even as he realized two centuries ago, that the cause of freedom is the cause of God. It is the prerequisite of duties, obligations, and honor that enrich the meaning of our existence.

Today, the frontiers of the struggle for the freedom and dignity of man are shifting from the physical combat to an even more decisive contest in the areas of ideas and intellectual integrity and progress.

In general terms, this socio-political struggle is between the cultural and spiritual values of western man, and the totalitarian concept of dictatorship that built its stronghold in the east.

The central and crucial issue in this contest is this:—who will prevail in the mind and heart of modern man? Will the expansive and ennobling ideals of the western man,

born of wisdom and charity two thousand years ago in the Mediterranean basin, continue to lead mankind toward a better future, based on the inherent dignity of man and his good will? Or will the selfish and power-hungry forces of totalitarianism cast new foreboding shadows on the evolutionary, and—at times—tortuous progress of mankind toward a better future?

In his tormented era of technological revolution, intellectual dissent, uneasy search for new definition for old and accepted values, the cause of freedom of man stands in bold relief, perhaps in even bolder relief than during the times of Washington and Pulaski.

The history of mankind, according to the British historian Arnold Toynbee, is a series of challenges and responses. What humanity went through in past ages, what it attained, what it failed to accomplish, and the state of world affairs today, are the result of the nature and valor of the responses the past generations made toward evolutionary challenges.

Currently, the existing balance of terror in nuclear weaponry will, in all probability, save us from an atomic holocaust. Physical war is no longer a profitable venture for an aggressor. It cannot be confined to one area for any length of time. With major powers involved, it would become a global cataclysm. It would leave in its wake neither the vanquished nor the victors.

In this new frame of reference, forced upon mankind by the scientific release of atomic energy, the struggle for the supremacy of one of the two diametrically-opposed forces entered the arena of intellectualism, technological breakthroughs, and—above all—education.

Only the more enlightened, more progressive, bolder, and better-educated force will prevail. Socio-political philosophy, humanistic values, and the very way of life, are subordinate factors in this struggle. Their future and development is inexorably involved in the outcome of the current contest.

Thus, in order to contribute to the final victory of our ideals, our principles of freedom, our way of life, it is incumbent upon us to provide the best possible education for our young people.

They will be the intellectual sentinels

guarding our expanding horizons of knowledge and freedom. Schooled in the eternal virtues of our western civilization and culture, they will overcome the atavistic forces of totalitarianism and open new and happier vistas for our nation, for our ancestral home, Poland, and for humanity.

Mysterious and—at times—subterranean forces of history are always acting for the ultimate benefit of mankind. Ralph Waldo Emerson defined this truism concisely when he wrote that "the world exists for the education of man."

We learn from history in order to better understand the new, developing trends facing each generation.

And we know that the challenge we must be responsive to at the present time is the contest for the mind, soul, and heart of the modern man. The militancy of today, unless conceived constructively, has no place in our advanced, civilized, and educated society.

We realize that the road to victory leads through excellence in education. What an educated mind can conceive, man can accomplish.

We must be committed to the education of our children as firmly as Pulaski was committed to freedom. After all, true freedom can flourish and expand only in an enlightened society.

Our Polonia has a noble tradition in this respect. Our fathers and grandfathers were committed to the best possible education of their children, and we are the beneficiaries of their wise determination. Shining examples of this concern with education are the Orchard Lake Schools in your vicinity and Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania.

As the chairman of the Board of Trustees of Alliance College, I am deeply grateful to Polonia in Detroit and in Michigan, generally, for the generosity you have proved in many occasions in effective support of Alliance College.

This nationally-known institution of higher learning will someday soon create a unique and vitally important center of Polish and Slavic studies in America, and you will share the credit for this accomplishment through your attachment and generosity to the college.

Both institutions close to your heart—the Orchard Lake Schools and Alliance College—are the gateways to Polonia's future, bright with promise.

As once was said by an eminent Polish-American scholar, "unity of purpose, one single goal for all of us, is what we need first. With it, we need unity of effort."

"Next, we ought to ask ourselves: 'What, in the history of mankind, always survives?'"

"Knowledge. The accumulation of experiences, the achievements of classical literature, the written record of man's accomplishments—painting, music, scripture, the theater. Folk tradition—the language and the customs. These survive forever, unless they fall into disuse."

"These are the finest things which any national group can offer another, and enrich society by contributing to the whole."

We, Americans of Polish descent, should translate these thoughts into reality through our institutions such as Alliance College and the Orchard Lake Schools.

Casimir Pulaski died for a great vision—of a free renaissance Poland and of a new, vibrant, and noble nation, conceived in freedom and nurtured by the wisdom of men of truly universal appeal, who gave us the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

This vision became the guiding light in the mysterious corridors of time, and inspired succeeding generations to a truly patriotic life.

This vision is the precious heritage Pulaski left to us as Americans of Polish ancestry.

And we would be remiss in our duties, both as Americans and as heirs to Pulaski's greatness, if we left this assemblage today without the firm resolve to meet with foresight and determination the primary challenge of our times—the challenge demanding higher and ever-more-excellent education for our children.

We shall pay a most fitting and enduring tribute to the Pulaski legacy by declaring here and now our commitment to the higher education of our young generation.

For the historic challenge of our times is educational imperative.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, December 10, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Reverend Mr. Louis H. Zbinden, Jr., First Presbyterian Church, Lenoir, N.C., offered the following prayer:

*Let us not grow tired of doing good, for, unless we throw in our hand, the ultimate harvest is assured.—Galatians 6: 9 (Phillips).*

In this moment of quietness, we pause, Lord, not to escape the issues of our day, but to be fortified to meet them well without losing our tempers, without making hasty judgments. Recall in us our allegiance to Thee.

In this glad season of expectation, inspire us to live with infectious hope and contagious courage. May our impulses be true and generous. Give us the grit to do the things we talk about; the boldness to implement the things we write about.

Though our stance and methodology may differ, Lord, let our common desire to serve, our concern for the unproductive, our yearning for peace, unify us.

Deliver us from artificiality in life, arrogance in belief, and equip us for responsible performances.

Through Christ Jesus, Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On November 18, 1969:

H.R. 10595. An act to amend the Act of August 7, 1956 (70 Stat. 1115), as amended, providing for a Great Plains conservation program; and

H.R. 11271. An act to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and research and program management, and for other purposes.

On November 21, 1969:

H.R. 14030. An act to amend section 358a (a) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to extend the authority to transfer peanut acreage allotments.

On November 26, 1969:

H.R. 474. An act to establish a Commission on Government Procurement.

H.R. 11612. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for other purposes.

H.R. 12307. An act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for other purposes.

H.R. 12829. An act to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 14001. An act to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to authorize modifications of the system of selecting persons for induction into the Armed Forces under this act.

On December 1, 1969:

H.R. 4284. An act to authorize appropriations to carry out the Standard Reference Data Act; and

H.R. 14020. An act to amend the Second Liberty Bond Act to increase the maximum interest rate permitted on U.S. savings bonds.

On December 2, 1969:

H.R. 7066. An act to provide for the establishment of the William Howard Taft National Historic Site.